

29

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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Second Series

29

A large, stylized white signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, consisting of the letters 'Jh' followed by a long, sweeping horizontal stroke that curves upwards at the end.A small, stylized white signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, identical in style to the larger one, consisting of the letters 'Jh' followed by a long, sweeping horizontal stroke that curves upwards at the end.

“So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the ‘third world’ as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote...the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.”

Indira Gandhi







**Selected  
works of  
Jawaharlal  
Nehru**



IN ROME, 8 JULY 1955



# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

**Second Series**

**Volume Twenty Nine**

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Jawaharlal Nehru  
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## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

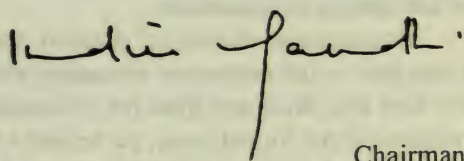
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund



## EDITORIAL NOTE

The present volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* draws upon the period 1 June to 31 August 1955 and attempts to record the major developments in the country's domestic affairs and also its international relations. The involvement and the active participation in decision-making at all levels of the Prime Minister in many important issues gives to the narration a certain personal continuity reflected in the words and ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru.

On the whole, this period is richer in foreign policy than in internal developments. Goa is the dominant single problem at home. The Portuguese Government is obdurate and refusing to negotiate the question of integrating their colonies with the Indian Republic on the French precedent. India had formal diplomatic relations with the Portuguese Government in Lisbon and with Goa's colonial administration. Because the Lisbon Government was not responding to the nationalist movement within the colonial territory, there was a very strong popular movement both within and outside Goa. This is what Nehru is all the time concerned about. The popular movement is controlled not by the Congress but by radical groups in the Socialist Party and the Jana Sangh. As he repeats again and again, Jawaharlal is for satyagraha by individuals but not for any mass protest movement which could lead to violence. He makes it clear that as a government India cannot afford to be non-violent; but for the liberation of a colonised territory violence or police action would be totally at variance with India's long record in the national movement under Gandhiji's leadership. By the end of the volume, diplomatic and consular links between India and Goa are terminated. The contradictions between the Government's policy of restraint and the agitational politics of the freedom movement based on Indian soil continues to be unresolved.

The Government's difficulties with other political parties can also be seen in an important and not exactly successful visit which the Prime Minister made to Bihar. Here, the problem is about the differences with the Communist Party of India and its students wing (AISF). In a major speech confronting the leftist parties and questioning their nationalist bona fides, Jawaharlal makes an interesting distinction between socialism to which the Congress Party is committed and the undisciplined behaviour of the students in Patna under revolutionary leftist slogans. He is particularly upset by the repeated insults made to the National Flag. He also notices the enduring menace of communalism and the new danger of casteism within the Hindu society. In fact, two or three times during this volume, we find Jawaharlal worried about the caste factor and the need to face it without self-deception.

The Prime Minister visits the North Eastern States during this period and he is quite clear about the need for much greater generosity to these distant communities whose sense of alienation he notices with unhappiness. He is particularly careful about reminding the Government of Assam about the need

for being receptive to the demands of the tribal communities. He tries to work out administrative details about the North East. He notices that the indigenous communities are under-represented in the administration. He notices the case of a competent young man from the region who is being rejected because of the age consideration and advises that he be selected.

The States Reorganisation Commission is conducting its investigations during this period. The Prime Minister makes it clear to the Chief Ministers and also in public speeches that he is not in any way attempting to influence the conclusions of the Commission. He also says that he expects to abide by its recommendations with some minor changes, if necessary.

The most important single event in foreign policy during this period was Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries and to Austria and Italy. There was also a brief but extremely important functional visit to London at the request of the British Prime Minister. We have detailed records of the conversations of Nehru with the Soviet collective leadership. Most of the conversations are with Prime Minister Bulganin. In some conversations Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Party, is present but it is interesting to note that nowhere is there any awareness on the part of Nehru of the relative importance in decision making of the two senior leaders. Like the rest of the world, India assumed that it was the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union who mattered. Within one or two years the position would be clarified and Khrushchev would take over the supreme leadership. We should expect clearer indications of this in the 1956 visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev to India. Most of the discussions center round the forthcoming Four Power Conference in Geneva in which the future of Europe, and Germany in particular, would be discussed. Nehru and his principal negotiator, Krishna Menon, play an important part in conveying to Washington, London, Paris and Moscow, and more important, to Beijing, the views on various controversial issues. The Moscow conversations are most important not so much on bilateral matters as in global diplomacy. There is an understanding between the two sides of the possibilities of some progress even on difficult topics like the future of Germany. It is all very tentative but it gives us a physically immediate impression of the usefulness of a disinterested facilitator in international negotiations even in those bitter years of the cold war. Nehru communicates with Eden and Eisenhower about very tricky problems concerning China. Most of the substantive diplomacy in this volume, in fact, consists of India's attempt to help in solving problems like the release of the captive American airmen in China and the converse problem of the American Government giving permission to the Chinese students in the United States to go home. As the centre of this diplomatic episode is the mutual trust between Chou En-lai and Nehru on the one hand and Nehru and Eisenhower on the other with Eden and Macmillan willing to play a mediatory role.

Nehru's visits to Poland and Czechoslovakia were comparatively brief. It is most notable for Nehru's repeated observation that the Czechs seemed to be unhappy and dissatisfied while the Poles were still full of optimistic nationalism. Almost as important as the visit to the Soviet Union was the visit to Yugoslavia. The discussions with Tito at a defining moment in the evolution of European



communism when Moscow and Belgrade reestablished their friendly relations after a gap of about six years gave the two leaders a welcome opportunity of analysing the situation in Europe. His visits to Italy and Austria were of secondary importance. In Austria, of course, Nehru was a welcome guest because of India's positive role in the final consummation of the Austrian Treaty. There was also a meeting of the heads of the Indian Missions in Europe in Salzburg.

When one traces the discussions and the speeches of this period in Europe one is most impressed by the apparent dominance of the German problem. Nehru repeats again and again that this is the most dangerous issue in the world. Even here, there were positive developments like Moscow's invitation to Chancellor Adenauer.

There were three important areas of foreign policy in which India was actively interested—the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the problems arising out of the newly constituted Indo-China Commissions after the 1954 Geneva Conference and the tense, near dangerous situation in the relations between China and the United States on Taiwan and the offshore islands. In each one of these, India played an important role. India cooperated fully on a day-to-day basis with both Poland and Canada, the other two members of the Indo-China Commission. We have details about the problems particularly created by the uncertain legal situation of South Vietnam and its Government's strong and pro-American policy. The Indian members of the Commission were threatened with physical abuse. There were other problems also but India refused to give up the method of negotiations through all the existing channels. Here, Nehru and Krishna Menon depended on India's links with the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, which appointed the Commission, the Soviet Union and Britain, and the other members of the Commission with India,—Poland and Canada. In the Indo-China crisis India was thus directly involved. In the US-China confrontation India's role was only that of a helpful intermediary. At the end of this period the problems are still unresolved. Nehru is hopeful that there will be a simple, acceptable solution in returning the two coastal islands to the People's Republic of China and permitting Taiwan to retain its autonomy for the time being. At this time things were still in the discussions stage. As we now know this problem became much more complicated towards the end of the fifties. Even today the two Islands continue to be a part of Taiwan. The discussions between the United States and China on the airmen and the students continue throughout this period with India helping by carrying messages between Chou En-lai and Eisenhower. More important probably was a separate decision that was independently arrived at by Beijing and Washington to have direct diplomatic discussions in Geneva on matters of secondary importance. Here India was helpful but the records show that our contribution was not substantial or decisive.

India-China relations are, of course, a major part of Nehru's foreign policy formulations both to public audiences and in private conversations with the leaders of other countries. Of some interest is the reference made in one place to the possibility of India replacing the People's Republic of China in the Security Council. In a confidential note to the Ministry recorded on 1 August,

Nehru says:

"The real difficulty now in the mind of US leaders is not the positive aspect of the inclusion of the People's Government of China, but rather the exclusion of Chiang Kai-shek. Informally, suggestions have been made by the United States that China should be taken into the United Nations but not in the Security Council and that India should take her place in the Security Council. We cannot of course accept this as it means falling out with China and it would be very unfair for a great country like China not to be in the Security Council. We have, therefore, made it clear to those who suggested this that we cannot agree to this suggestion. We have even gone a little further and said that India is not anxious to enter the Security Council at this stage, even though as a great country she ought to be there. The first step to be taken is for China to take her rightful place and then the question of India might be considered separately." This position is consistent with his repeated statements on two or three occasions in this volume about the absence of the People's Republic from the United Nations being one of the major problems of the world at that time.

On nuclear energy there was an important development. The First World Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was held in August 1955 under the chairmanship of the Indian scientist Homi Bhabha. In one of his talks with the Soviet leaders on June 10, 1955, Jawaharlal states that "this Conference would be incomplete without China". He went on to say that "this is not a political but scientific matter."

In the South Asian region itself Nehru's diplomacy continued to be active. On its relations with Bhutan whose international status had still not been finally recognised by the global community, the Government of India was extremely helpful and understanding. With Nepal also there were very few problems during this brief interlude. Of special interest is the complete understanding, even empathy, between India and Myanmar and also between Nehru and U Nu personally on most subjects. There was some embarrassment because of India's inability to fully meet Myanmar's demand for economic aid but all this was being sorted out.

The relations with Pakistan were on a reasonably normal level. Prime Minister Mohammad Ali and Nehru had established a certain rapport. Problems like the river waters issue were being discussed at a very slow pace under the good auspices of the World Bank. It was a quiet, even slightly hopeful, interlude in a very difficult relationship.

With Sri Lanka there were problems primarily because of the Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala's rather hostile attitude towards the problems of the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka. This was essentially a temporary phase and it is interesting to note that Nehru had his channels open with the main opposition leader S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.

One of the minor pleasures of reading Nehru's writings is to notice the differences and, also, similarities between his speeches to foreign and domestic audiences and in public and private discussions. There is a certain transparency which comes through in these various utterances. In this volume, three or four speeches are of particular interest and would repay careful analysis by the reader. The most important is the speech made to the heads of Indian Missions in



Europe. Here we find the essential transparency of India's foreign policy at that time. Very few new decisions are made in what is basically an exercise in mutual communication, but there is an opportunity for the diplomats to understand the constraints and motivations of their country's diplomatic attitudes. An important decision on an essentially minor matter made at this meeting was to have a programme for providing assistance to Indian scientists abroad who had not yet succeeded in securing suitable employment. In a major speech in Hindi in Allahabad, Jawaharlal gives complete picture of the world at large with its opportunities and dangers and India's role in it. In all these speeches inevitably he talks about his recent visit to foreign countries. With a certain forgivable self-satisfaction he speaks about the welcome he received as India's representative wherever he went. This is particularly notable in a speech delivered in the Ramlila Grounds, Delhi the day after he had been presented with the Bharat Ratna Award by the President. It is a remarkable performance by any standard as an exhortation to India's ordinary citizens to identify themselves with the country's policies, both at home and abroad. Whether it is on the cold war or on the Community Projects or the National Extension Service, Jawaharlal tries to communicate something of his passion and his involvement to his people.

There are also some minor but interesting aspects of the great man's major activities. He has to intervene between the Indian Ambassador in Washington, G.L. Mehta and V.K. Krishna Menon about some delicate diplomatic problems. For the tenth anniversary of the UN Krishna Menon was suddenly appointed the leader of the Indian Delegation instead of Mr Mehta. Panditji exercises his abilities in domestic diplomacy with some success only. According to Mr Mehta, Mrs Pandit was also guilty of ignoring the Ambassador during her visits to the State Department. These are all inevitable in any arrangement, diplomatic or otherwise.

As in other volumes, there are two or three delightful examples of Jawaharlal's anxious, even angry, intervention in some individual cases where he feels that justice has not been done. The tendency of the various Ministries, and particularly the senior bureaucrats, to jump to the worst possible conclusions about a particular individual because of some links with the Students' Federation, the Socialist or the Communist Party or trade unions irritates the Prime Minister. Two separate cases are of permanent relevance. Dr Irfan Habib, who later on became a distinguished historian, was sought to be denied a government scholarship because of his links with leftist groups. Nehru discusses the question thoroughly, understands the ideological dilemmas of the young man and finally comes to the conclusion that he should be given the scholarship. Then there is the delightful story of young Farooq Abdullah who had just been admitted to the Medical College in Jaipur. In a letter to Shri Tikaram Paliwal, a senior Congress leader in Rajasthan, Nehru writes an urgent letter asking him to take interest in the young man. The Prime Minister has heard reports about Farooq being teased about being the son of the imprisoned Kashmiri leader. He has also heard that he has been asked to share a room in a hostel near a cinema in the town. The Prime Minister specifically instructs his colleagues to see to it that he is allotted a single room, however small, in the Medical College's own

hostel in the campus. In a sensitive passage in this letter Nehru refers to one of the personal problems of good governance: "Some people foolishly imagine that because we have had differences with Shaikh Abdullah, therefore we are not favourably inclined towards his son or his family. This of course is not only absurd but is just the reverse of how we feel. Personally, because Shaikh Abdullah is in prison, I feel rather a special responsibility that we should try to help his sons and family." This gentle and civilized reaction is not limited to Jawaharlal alone at this time: it was common to all our first generation leaders who had grown up under the benignant and affectionate leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. We might have our differences with their views on specific problems but we have to accept without reservation a certain capacity they had to identify themselves with even the lesser problems of mere students. It is easy to be concerned when major national or global interests are involved. It is more difficult not to be dismissive on occasions like this when one is dealing with stray individual cases. When the Prime Minister of a large country takes time off from affairs of state to look into possible cases of inadequate justice, there is hope for democracy. As far as Jawaharlal Nehru is concerned, there is always the fugitive chance that conversations from peak to peak at the global level might be interrupted by such "impulses of delight" and also, of compassion. As Wordsworth said, this is after all, "that best portion of a good man's life, his little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love."

It is our very pleasant duty, in placing this volume before its readers, to thank various individuals and institutions for their support and help in bringing it out. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi has graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession referred to as the JN Collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has, as always, assisted in the publication of this volume by granting access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Cabinet Secretariat, the Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau and the Planning Commission have allowed us to use relevant material in their possession. We wish to acknowledge in particular, the permission given to us by All India Radio to use the tapes of the speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru. Some classified material has necessarily been withheld.

Last but not least, it gives us pleasure in acknowledging the help and support we received from our colleagues in the creation of this volume. Indeed, we are deeply indebted to Shri Tapan Kumar Karanjai, Ms Geeta Kudaisya, Shri Bibhu Mohapatra and Ms Etee Bahadur, all of whom rendered scholarly assistance in the collection of archival material and its subsequent organization, and Ms Shantisri Banerji for the preparation of the index. Shri Mohapatra after working here for nearly seven years left recently to assume higher responsibilities in a different organization. We wish him all success. We are no less deeply indebted to Ms Malini Rajani and Ms Saroja Anantha Krishnan for undertaking the necessary typing work and assisting in the preparation of index. Without their labour and commitment, this volume, with its rich historical data, could not have been placed before the scholarly community and lay citizens, interested in the life and works of Jawaharlal Nehru.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

AIBEA	All India Bank Employees Association
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
AISF	All India Students' Federation
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BSc	Bachelor of Science
CPA	Community Projects Administration
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPSU	Communist Party of Soviet Union
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DPIO	Deputy Principal Information Officer
DRV/DRVN	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
FS	Foreign Secretary
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
ICS	Indian Civil Service
ICSC	International Commission for Supervision and Control
IISCO	Indian Iron and Steel Company
INA	Indian National Army
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
ISI	Indian Statistical Institute
ITI	International Theatre Institute
KMT	Kuomintang
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDC	National Development Council

NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NES	National Extension Service
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NNC	Naga National Council
NR & SR	Natural Resources and Scientific Research
PCC	Provincial/Pradesh Congress Committee
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PCART	Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
POW	Prisoner of war
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PRC	People's Republic of China
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
RLG	Royal Laotian Government
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SCOB	Steel Corporation of Bengal
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
SG	Secretary General
SRC	States Reorganisation Commission
SSP	Samyukta Socialist Party
TISCO	Tata Iron and Steel Company
TTNC	Travancore Tamil Nad Congress
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organisation
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPCC	Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association



## GENERAL PERSPECTIVES





## 1. Tasks Ahead<sup>1</sup>

Sisters and brothers,

I have come to this beautiful, historic city after many years. Whenever I come here, two pictures rise before my mind's eye. One is the historical past of India, and the other is the present—the new history of India which you and I and all of us are making today. I am here today specially to see the new Defence Academy that has come up at Khadakvasla and to attend some functions there. I had laid its foundation many years ago.<sup>2</sup> I have heard—I am yet to see them—that a great many new buildings have taken shape and the place has become even more beautiful now. It is a good place for our young men to learn something useful. As you know, there is the National Chemical Laboratory, which I visited.<sup>3</sup> All these big national laboratories are a special symbol of India's scientific advance and through these her progress as a nation. I went to a third place—I do not remember its name—a water research station, where models of our big river valley schemes—the Damodar Valley, Hooghly and Kosi, etc.,—are kept to devise improvements.<sup>4</sup> So many big tasks are under way.

Well, I am here for just half a day and there is a great deal to be done in this short time. But when the President of the PCC<sup>5</sup> and my colleagues asked me to address a public meeting I liked the idea of meeting you once again and telling you a little about what is in my mind, though the time is short. I shall have to leave within the hour because military matters demand punctuality and I must reach Khadakvasla on time. There can be no delay in that.

I shall speak about a few things in this half an hour. My mind is teeming with ideas and I want to share my thoughts with you because what I see of India today and the great tasks that we are undertaking, fill me with amazement. There is a tremendous enthusiasm and joy behind everything that is being done in the country today. After all, whatever we do assumes gigantic proportions

1. Speech at a public meeting. Race Course ground. Pune, 4 June 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. The National Defence Academy, set up in Dehra Dun in January 1949, was shifted to Khadakvasla in January 1955. The foundation-stone of its building was laid on 6 October 1949 at Khadakvasla. For Nehru's speech on this occasion, see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 13. pp. 280-283.
3. The National Chemical Laboratory had been functioning at Pune since 1950.
4. In fact, Nehru was referring to the Central Water and Power Research Station near the Khadakvasla Lake, ten miles from Pune, where he declared open the first ship testing-tank, first of its kind in India and South East Asia, on 4 June 1955.
5. T.R. Deogirikar was the President of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee.

because the country is so large. It is a gigantic task to uplift thirty-six crore human beings. The tasks that we are undertaking in the country today are great even by world standards and so the attention of the other countries is constantly drawn towards us and what we are doing—the big industries that we are setting up and the community projects which have spread to nearly one lakh villages so far—is a revolutionary programme. As a matter of fact, revolution does not necessarily mean violence. It means change. We are trying to transform the lives of millions of people. So there can be no greater revolution than that. India is doing all this in her own way and not by imitating other countries. We are prepared to learn from other countries, from the United States, England, the Soviet Union, China and others, and have no quarrel with anyone. But ultimately we want to implement whatever we learn, in our own way. We do not wish merely to copy others for that cannot lead to progress. We want to build a real country, but at the same time we have a great deal to learn from others.

So, when I see what is happening all around us, there is a great upsurge of emotion that we have been so fortunate as to be born at a time when we can play a small role in great tasks. As you may know, I am going abroad from Bombay tomorrow and will be away visiting a number of foreign countries during the next five weeks.<sup>6</sup> In fact I was to go to the Soviet Union just for a couple of weeks but then the other neighbouring countries invited me and I have accepted most of them. I shall be stopping over en route in Czechoslovakia for a day and after my visit to the Soviet Union, stop in Poland and Austria for a couple of days each, and then go to Yugoslavia for six days to meet Marshal Tito. On the return journey, I shall stay in Rome for a day or two, then in Cairo and back. So it is going to be a long tour. I do not visit a foreign country for any special purpose like solving a dispute or anything like that. But all of us are involved in international affairs, for no country can hope to remain in isolation. We stand to gain by talking to the leaders of other countries because that clears the air and strengthens friendly ties. So such visits are useful.

As you know, we do not wish to quarrel with anyone. We want friendship with everyone. We do have some small problems with some countries, especially Pakistan, and to a small extent with Ceylon. But that does not mean that we wish to go to war with any of them. We shall certainly remain firm on our principles and protect our rights. But we want to solve all these problems through peace and friendship. The other countries of the world are constantly bickering with one another and making preparations for war. But we have friendly relations with everyone, whether it is the United States or the Soviet Union or China or England. But this imposes its own burden upon us. It is a welcome burden

6. Nehru undertook a tour of Europe from 5 June to 11 July 1955. See *post*, pp. 201-264.



because it gives us an opportunity to serve the cause of peace in the world and increases the confidence of others in us. Complex tasks which cannot be handled by anyone else because of their mutual quarrels are entrusted to us. As you know, we undertook a very great responsibility in Korea.<sup>7</sup> At present we have been entrusted with an extremely complex task in Indo-China—in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.<sup>8</sup> We do not go out of our way to take on these burdens but a great nation has great responsibilities. We cannot escape from them. So we have to take them on and do our best. Please do not think that we deliberately wish to jump into the arena of international politics in order to become famous or to be talked about in the newspapers. This is not so. You must have read about Shri Krishna Menon's visit to China at their invitation. We did not send him. China invited him and we gave permission. We did not send any message through him except to say that we wish to do what we can to reduce world tensions. So he went and though I will not say that his going solved any great problems, it has certainly eased the atmosphere a great deal.<sup>9</sup> This is how even small steps can lead to the solution of big problems. I shall not tell you any more about international affairs.

As a matter of fact, despite the fact that my work involves foreign policy and international relations, my mind is full of what we are trying to build in India. We are in the midst of deliberations about the Second Five Year Plan. Almost four years of the First Five Year Plan are over. We have to draw up the Second Plan within the next one year. Deliberations have been going on for the last seven or eight months and a rough draft of the Plan will be before you within the next four or five months. It will be finalized after six more months. Now what does planning mean? I want you to understand it because it is not something governmental but concerns all of us in the country. It involves working out a path for us to follow, to remove our difficulties and to increase our strength. It is a way to put an end to our poverty and unemployment. All this can be done only by hard work, not by chanting mantras or praying. The task of uplifting the country requires hard work in the right direction. We have tremendous manpower which, if it is directed in the right channels and not frittered away in mutual quarrels, can be a great source of energy. If we fritter it away in internal squabbles, that strength could be wholly destroyed. This is a broad fact which all of you know.

7. India was the Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, set up to implement the Korean agreement of 1953.
8. India was the Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control constituted to implement the Geneva Agreements of 1954.
9. Krishna Menon held talks with Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders during his visit to Beijing from 11 to 21 May 1955. He also met the British and Canadian leaders and finally Eisenhower and Dulles on 14 and 15 June 1955 respectively.



So the most important thing is to look in the right direction because that is the way the country will go. The way to judge a man or a race or a nation is through their way of thinking. If they are all the time engrossed in petty issues and squabbles, they cannot achieve anything great. They either fritter away their energies in disputes with neighbours and in futile arguments, or indulge in self-pity and recriminations rather than doing something constructive. So whether it is a human being or a race or a nation, you can judge them by their way of thinking. Everyone in the country cannot obviously think alike, but by that I mean is the general direction in which a nation looks. You can judge from that whether a country is likely to progress fast or not.

What do you think is the thinking of our country? Let me tell you the broad lines on which we are thinking. The great political challenge we faced was of winning freedom, and so we devoted our entire attention to it. It was fundamental and so it was done. Even while we were doing so, the economic and the social questions arose. But our attention was absorbed by the political question. Now things have changed. In spite of the various political questions, like the issue of Goa and other things, the country is devoting its attention to the economic and social problems and one example of that is the five year plans that have been taken up.

Perhaps many of you did not bother much about planning until five years ago. Now the word is on everyone's lips, and the First and Second Five Year Plans are being talked about everywhere. Everyone has his own opinion about the Plan and even if he does not understand it fully, he thinks about it. It is a sign of progress when a whole country thinks on these lines. Now that politically the country is stable, we have time to devote to the economic problems which are the really relevant issues, because they concern the day-to-day lives of the people, their means of livelihood, etc.

Similarly, you can judge the various organisations and parties by their way of thinking. There are many communalist organizations in the country who pay very little attention to economic problems and are all the time bent upon fanning communal passion in the country. This itself makes it obvious that such parties are not really stable. To give an instance, some Sikhs in the Punjab want to launch a movement.<sup>10</sup> The Sikhs have a special place in India and have great achievements to their credit. We have great hopes of them. So I feel sad when some of them get worked up over a petty, meaningless issue. I am trying to show how a nation or a race thinks. I would like to point out to the Akalis that

10. The Shiromani Akali Dal had been agitating for over two months for a Punjabi *Suba*. The Government had banned linguistic chauvinistic slogan-shouting in *morchas* and had arrested a number of people for violating the ban.

what they are doing at the moment can benefit neither themselves nor the country. We must try to solve our problems through discussion.

The problems facing the country are mainly economic and in a sense the biggest issue is the Five Year Plan. I do not know how many of you have read the various pamphlets brought out on the Five Year Plan. Nothing has been finally decided upon. There will be a number of alterations and improvements in the Plan. The Planning Commission has published pamphlets for the people to read and make suggestions. If you have not already read them, you must do so. You will find two or three things. One is that this time we wish to take a bolder step than we did in the First Plan, in two matters specially. One is that we wish to increase our gross national product by five per cent every year. It means increasing it by 25% within the next five years, which is a difficult task. But it can be done with some effort. The second is to increase avenues of employment. These are the two broad things. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the whole Plan has been drawn up on the basis of entirely new ideas. It does not involve merely putting up some industries here and there, though that will also be done. But that is not planning. We have to maintain a balance between our capacity to produce and the country's needs. We have to fulfil them first and in the process, try to calculate how much increase there will be in employment and what the ratio between production and consumption is likely to be, etc. It is a pretty complicated thing to calculate. There seems to be a general consensus among the planners that it is necessary to lay the foundations of heavy and basic industries. The small industries will be their offshoot. If we do not have heavy industries, we shall have to depend on other countries. In fact, they are extremely essential for our success. But to maintain the balance, something else becomes essential that is, village industries. The heavy industries and the village industries must be properly balanced. As you know, village industries have been thought of for a long time in the Congress and Gandhiji had laid special emphasis on them. But now even people who earlier did not believe in them are gradually coming round to the idea that a balance between heavy and village industries is essential. Heavy industries do not yield results immediately. We will need four to five years and millions of rupees to put up a steel plant before it goes into production. The investment in village industries is very low and they yield results immediately and provide employment to people. Therefore, we wish to encourage village industries in our Plans.

These are some of the broad issues that we have to think about. If we invest a great deal and the production is low, the rupee will be devalued and there will be inflation which we must prevent. In short, there are many angles to the problem. But what I would like you to understand is that an entirely different approach is being adopted in the Second Plan. For the first time, we are coming to grips with the various big problems in the country. That does



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Perhaps many of you did not bother much about planning until five years ago. Now the word is on everyone's lips, and the First and Second Five Year Plans are being talked about everywhere. Everyone has his own opinion about the Plan and even if he does not understand it fully, he thinks about it. It is a sign of progress when a whole country thinks on these lines. Now that politically the country is stable, we have time to devote to the economic problems which are the really relevant issues, because they concern the day-to-day lives of the people, their means of livelihood, etc.

Similarly, you can judge the various organisations and parties by their way of thinking. There are many communalist organizations in the country who pay very little attention to economic problems and are all the time bent upon fanning communal passion in the country. This itself makes it obvious that such parties are not really stable. To give an instance, some Sikhs in the Punjab want to launch a movement.<sup>10</sup> The Sikhs have a special place in India and have great achievements to their credit. We have great hopes of them. So I feel sad when some of them get worked up over a petty, meaningless issue. I am trying to show how a nation or a race thinks. I would like to point out to the Akalis that

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not mean that the Second Plan will solve all the problems. That is not so. We should constantly make changes and improvements. It is not going to be a final draft.

What I am trying to tell you is about the new approach being adopted in India today. We learnt a great deal from the First Five Year Plan and became richer in experience. We have been able to amass a great deal of information and statistics about the country in this period. We are in a better position to judge and go on from there. But I want that the thinking should not be confined merely to the Planning Commission but must be done by the masses too. They must understand the whole thing because the tasks that we are undertaking are so huge that we cannot succeed unless we have the people's cooperation. You must realise that with this planning we are breaking new ground so that you can prepare yourselves mentally for the change and tackle the tasks successfully. There will be heavy industries but I would like to draw your attention specially to the village industries and the community projects, which are revolutionary schemes for rural uplift. I use the term 'revolutionary' deliberately because they will transform the face of rural India within the next four or five years. Village industries and the community projects will take us rapidly forward. We are doing all this by peaceful methods. As you know, our Constitution is democratic. We wish to accomplish these things by peaceful and democratic methods. Such a thing has never been done before on such a large scale in the history of the world. The United States and England have advanced over a couple of centuries and had many advantages. We do not have that much time. We have to take all these big steps within the next five or ten years. Opinions differ about the course of events in the Soviet Union, but there is no doubt about it that they have made tremendous progress. The heavy price that they paid for it is a different matter. There was a civil war and they were facing grave disasters. But they advanced. However it would be foolish to adopt violence here just because there was a violent revolution in the Soviet Union. We are having a revolution by peaceful methods. We have tried to solve the big problems in the country peacefully as far as possible. For instance, we removed British rule peacefully. Then came the merger of Indian States, which was also done without harming the old princes.<sup>11</sup> In fact, they were given large pensions and privy purses. That way the political question was solved and the princes no longer enjoy the rights they did before independence. You will not find any other instance in the world of such a complex problem being solved peacefully within three or four months. Such changes are usually accompanied by violence and bloodshed. We have successfully abolished the zamindari and *jagirdari* system by peaceful methods and the few pockets that remain will

11. Accession, democratisation and integration of Princely States into Indian Union took place between July 1947 and January 1950.



also go soon. Thus, you will find that India has a unique way of solving her problems. In Europe people are only too ready to go to war or indulge in violence. We have chosen a peaceful path for ourselves which we must follow steadfastly for it gives us strength and our problems get solved. Now my half an hour is almost up.

I mentioned Goa just now. Recently I spoke about it in a press conference as well.<sup>12</sup> There is great interest in the Goa issue all over the country. The events of the last month or so have upset and angered the people. The treatment meted out to the *satyagrahis* who went from here have annoyed the people and justifiably so.<sup>13</sup> Voices are raised and telegrams are pouring in asking why we are delaying the matter instead of marching our army into Goa. Some want that they should be permitted to take the matter in hand themselves. I have already said this once and let me make it quite clear again that there can be no two opinions about Goa in the whole country. The question is how to solve this problem peacefully and with dignity. It is no great problem to remove the Portuguese Government from there. No one can doubt that the Goa issue will be solved. The Portuguese cannot stay there, for circumstances of history and geography will not permit it. The Goa issue has been before us for the last four or five years. As in the case of the French settlements, we have tried to solve it by peaceful methods. Our efforts were successful in the case of Pondicherry and Chandernagore with the result that the tensions between France and India disappeared and we are friends now.<sup>14</sup> In short, when something is done the right way, both sides stand to gain as India and France have benefited and the relations between us are friendly. We had made it quite clear to France that even after the merger of Pondicherry into India, we were prepared to continue the teaching of the French language and culture which have flourished

12. On the 31 May 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 28. pp. 300-304.

13. By April 1955, the Portuguese repression in Goa had nearly finished the internal resistance movement. Hence the Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti (All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee). Pune, decided in April 1955 to send batches of volunteers to Goa from May 1955. On 18 May, the first batch of fifty-four *satyagrahis* led by N.G. Goray and P.M. (Senapati) Bapat tried to cross over to Goa. They were fired upon, beaten up and taken to custody by the Portuguese police. The second batch of sixty-eight *satyagrahis* under Madhu Limaye were severely beaten up and arrested on 28 May while trying to cross over.

14. In a referendum on 19 June 1949 Chandernagore, a French possession near Calcutta, opted for joining the Union of India and the Government of India assumed responsibility for its administration on 2 May 1950. In April 1952 France ratified the referendum. The de facto transfer of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam, former French settlements, took place on 1 November 1954 according to an agreement, signed between India and France on 21 October 1954.



there for the last two or three hundred years. Whatever be the methods others follow, this is our way. We want to adopt the same method to solve the Goa issue for which we need the cooperation and understanding of the Portuguese Government. Some people are carried away by anger and passion and accuse us of cowardice. As you can imagine, these are very grave issues and international problems cannot be solved in anger or passion and without thought to the consequences. We are respected in the world but not because of our army, though it is a good one, or our wealth, for we are among the poor nations of the world. We do not have the atom bomb. But we are respected because we speak in a different voice and do not wish to go to war with anyone. Ours is the path of peace. We do not believe in making a great deal of noise. Soft and gentle voices are heard more clearly than strident ones which fall on deaf ears. Therefore, if we were to abandon our policy and principles which have earned us the respect of the world for the sake of Goa or any other issue, we will not benefit very much. Goa has to come to us and nobody can prevent that, even if it takes a year or eighteen months. But if we abandon our principles, India will lose the respect of the world, and delicate tasks in world affairs will suffer a setback. That is not right. It has never been our intention to march our army into Goa. Some people demand that we should take police action.<sup>15</sup> Let me tell you quite clearly that we shall do nothing of the sort for I feel that such an action in connection with Goa will be a stain on our reputation and India's impact in world affairs will be weakened. Therefore, it is not proper that we should do such things. The problem will be solved in any case, even if it takes a little time, just as we solved the problem of Pondicherry, without bitterness and in a manner which earned us the respect of the world. Please remember that when a problem is solved by right methods, the solution is lasting and no fresh problems arise. When the method is wrong, then the solution of one problem leads to five others. For instance, take the history of Europe where great wars have been fought. After winning the First World War, the victors were besieged with all kinds of problems. The Second World War was also followed by innumerable difficulties and now they are busy preparing for a third war. It shows that if a problem is not solved by the right method, it creates other, more difficult problems. Therefore, we have to face the Goa issue with strength and firmness, but without abandoning our principles in a fit of anger. We are not going to take military or police action in Goa.

Now, I respect people who do satyagraha if they are sincere. I will say one thing though and that is, if the *satyagrahis* wish to create a commotion which will force the Indian forces to march in, that is no satyagraha. It is

15. A mass meeting, held under the auspices of Delhi PSP on 22 May 1955, passed a resolution requesting the Government of India to sanction immediate police action to free Goa.

wrong. It will be directed not merely against the Portuguese Government but to some extent against us, by creating conditions which will compel us to march in. Whatever the Indian Government wishes to do, it will do in its own way and not by shouting about it from the rooftops. We do not wish to employ the military method. We want to solve the matter peacefully. We had said that apart from the Goans, no other Indian should be allowed to enter Goa, not because we do not have the right to go there, but because we do not want it to be said that the Goans were not willing to join India and the Indians are forcing them. We want to make it quite clear that it is the Goans who are very keen. If other Indians go there, the Goans will be submerged and we will be accused of trying to force them. That will be wrong. Therefore, we do not wish that other Indians should go there. The Goans can do satyagraha and I have no objection to one or two other Indians going there. But if a whole lot of Indians crowd into Goa, it will no longer be a Goan satyagraha. We are aware of what is happening there. As I said, the *satyagrahis* who went from here were fired upon, which was absolutely wrong, and we made it quite clear. Therefore, there has been no such incident and I hope that gradually the Portuguese Government will also begin to understand the meaning of satyagraha. The trouble is that they are not very well educated in these matters and do not understand what satyagraha is all about. When General Bapat<sup>16</sup> went there, they thought he was going in his capacity as a military official and so they misunderstood the whole thing. Whatever happens, we must be constantly vigilant over the Goa affair. As I told you, there can be no two opinions about its outcome. We may differ in our views about the approach, for we do not wish to abandon our principles and do something wrong. The Goans who wish to express their views, whether in Bombay or Belgaum or Goa, can certainly do so. Others who wish to express their sympathy can do so, but if a crowd of Indians goes there, it will no longer be a satyagraha of the Goans. The entire complexion will change. This has been our policy. We will make the necessary alterations in our policy. My time is up. Please permit me to go.

16. Pandurang Mahadev Bapat "Senapati" (1880-1967); while studying in UK became member of 'Abhinav Bharat' of Savarkar and went underground during 1908-1913; hailed as 'Senapati' in 1921 for leading the Mulshi satyagraha against the Tata hydroelectric project. was imprisoned for over seventeen years; elected President of Maharashtra Congress Committee; participated in Goa Liberation Satyagraha in 1955 and Samyukta Maharashtra Satyagraha in 1956; author of *A Holy Song*, gist in English verse of the Bhagavadgita and thirteen Upanishads; *Divya Jivana*, Marathi translation of *Life Divine* by Sri Aurobindo.



## 2. Policy of India<sup>1</sup>

You and I have come together many times at this Ramlila Ground, and I have talked about many things and you have listened to me with patience. I speak very freely when I am here throwing the norms of protocol to the winds. We are partners in a very great task. We have achieved a great deal but much remains to be done still. But today I am a little shy and unable to make up my mind about what I should talk to you, though generally I have a great deal to say. On this occasion, I am a little overwhelmed. Last night, the President did me a great honour and said many kind things about me.<sup>2</sup> It was rather difficult for me to reply suitably. He is our President and a great leader of the country. But to me, he is something more than that. He is an old colleague and we have both been through great ups and downs during the last forty years. We have had successes and reverses, and often stumbled and gone on again till we had reached our goal. This is true not only of the President and myself, but of all of us during the last few decades. But the moment we reached one goal, the next one came up. There has been no time for a pause or rest. We have had to keep going.

Pictures of the last forty years come before me, thousands of them, and looking back at the memories they conjure up, I feel a little overwhelmed. You have given me many great honours, the biggest of them being the love and affection that you have showered upon me. There can be no greater honour than that, including the fact that you have put me in this high post of the Prime Minister. I have not been alone in the long journey towards freedom and nor have I suddenly acquired a new stature. The fact of the matter is that you are on the lookout for fresh excuses to show your love. You have put such a tremendous burden of love upon me that often I feel weighed down by it. Love and affection are very good things but at the same time they make their own demands upon the recipient. I wonder whether I have the strength to fulfil those demands. I shall do my best and work as hard as my strength will permit.

I have been on a tour abroad and visited many countries. You may have read about it in the newspapers and seen some of the photographs. I think a film is being shown about it from which you can understand the kind of welcome

1. Speech at a civic reception accorded to Nehru by the citizens of Delhi, Ramlila grounds, Delhi, 16 July 1955. AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. On 15 July 1955, the President of India conferred the Bharat Ratna, the highest civilian award, on Nehru.



we received. The governments of those countries extended a very warm welcome, of course. But the special thing was that the people in millions joined in welcoming us. Why was that? It is possible that there is some good in me. But there are many others as good as I am, but who have not been made so much of or given such a rousing reception. Why? I searched about in my mind to find the reason and came to the conclusion that first of all, this welcome was not for me personally, but for India and the fact that I was there as a representative of India. So it was a method of showing their love and respect for India. India has become well known in the world as an advocate of the cause of peace. So in a sense, I became a messenger of peace. Wherever I went, I found that in every country in the world, there is a great desire to put an end to war and live in peace. My visit gave them an opportunity to express this desire. Please remember that just because a thing is good or true, it is not necessary that everyone will automatically accept it. The time has to be ripe for the people to accept these things. The atmosphere has to be conducive. The voice of truth and goodness will not penetrate people's ears if they are not prepared for it. It is only when the time is right that the voice begins to be heard clearly. All of us are surrounded by thousands of principles and truths and realities, but our eyes remain closed to them. It is only the great men who realise their significance. They can see what others cannot. But sometimes the eyes and ears of an entire nation open, and a breeze blows through the world which leads to a greater awareness among the people. I saw this phenomenon wherever I went. I do not think there is any country in the world where this fresh wind of change is not blowing, leading to a desire for peace and an end to war.

There are many reasons for this. We may say that we do not want war. After all, who likes ruin? But the fact is that we in India have no experience whatsoever of a big war. Whenever I went abroad, I could see what those countries had gone through during the two World Wars. There is not a single family in these countries which has not lost some young people in the war. Whole cities have been razed to the ground. Those memories are still fresh in their minds. Is it a surprise that they should think of war with distaste! Our being against war is an intellectual exercise because we have not gone through the terrible experiences of war and bloodshed. The strange thing is that though the world has had so much experiences of wars and disasters, talk of war and preparations for it are going on all the time, and great big arsenals are being built up. That is what is surprising. But there is nothing worse than fear in a human being. I would say that nearly all other defects in human beings spring from fear. It is fear which generates hate and anger and a thousand other emotions. People behave in all kinds of mean ways if they are afraid. Therefore, the most important lesson that Mahatma Gandhi taught India nearly forty years ago was to be fearless. I do not know how far we have learnt that lesson. But

that is what every nation must learn, for a human being who is not afraid does not make others afraid.

Let me give you the example of animals. There are many kinds of wild and dangerous animals. But if you compare them with human beings, you will find that the most dangerous and ferocious are the latter. At the same time, I am also convinced that no animal will attack a human being if he is completely fearless. It is only when a human being runs away in fear that it pursues him; or when he attacks it that it will protect itself. Similarly, though peoples and nations can see that war brings ruin, they are full of fear of one another. Take Europe after the Second World War. There is great fear in some countries of Western Europe that the Soviet Union is becoming very powerful and might attack them. So they are in a panic and are arming themselves against such an eventuality. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Eastern bloc are afraid of the United States and its allies. So there is fear on both sides and all of them are arming themselves against one another. When the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are in a state of mutual confrontation, the lesser powers are likely to be crushed in the process. The countries of Western Europe are afraid of the might of the Soviet Union which is rapidly extending its sphere of influence. On the other hand, the Soviet Union accuses the United States of establishing air bases all over the world from where atom bombs can be dropped on the Soviet Union. So there is mutual fear and both sides are afraid of the ruin that another war will bring in. Wars fought with atomic weapons are a new experience for them. Our own experience in this matter is nil. But gradually the picture is becoming clearer. Modern warfare makes all the books written on military science and warfare so far and taught in our institutes and colleges completely outdated. We cannot learn much from them because the times have changed and nobody knows what the effect of these strange new weapons is likely to be. But one thing becomes quite clear, that, if they are used even once, let alone the country at which they are aimed, perhaps the whole world will be destroyed. They are like the weapons that we read about in the Ramayana and Mahabharata, which are said to have destroyed whole cities. I do not know whether those weapons in fact existed. But the new weapons are capable of destroying millions of people, and worse, the radioactive waves that they release can spread to every corner of the world and affect people for generations to come in the form of strange diseases, and so on. They can pollute even the waters and kill all life in the seas. In short, all living things will be affected.

So this is the sort of world that we live in today. If war was bad earlier, now it is no longer a question of good or bad; it is a matter of survival. The question before the world today is whether it should go towards total destruction or find some way of avoiding it. This is the picture which has emerged. About ten days ago, the great scientists of the world issued a statement drawing



attention to the fact that the modern weapons, especially the hydrogen bomb, can destroy the whole world, whether you participate in a war or not.<sup>3</sup> This is yet another reason for the people's attention to be drawn to the fact that this madness must be put an end to. As you perhaps know the day after tomorrow there is to be a Conference of the Four Great Powers in Geneva where the main issue under discussion will be how to settle mutual disputes and remove fear of war and fear of one another.<sup>4</sup> Let us say that Western Europe is reassured about the intention of the Soviet Union, and the latter is no longer afraid of being surrounded by American bases. Germany is once again arming itself to the teeth and nobody can say what a militarily powerful Germany will do. In the past, Germany had committed aggression not only against the Soviet Union but most of the countries of Western Europe and some others like Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc., and brought terrible ruin upon them. France was another victim, and if France is now nervous, it is not surprising. France has had to face German aggression thrice in sixty or seventy years.<sup>5</sup>

So these are the problems of mutual fear and not without reason. The question is how to solve these problems. It is not in our hands to solve them. But the broad fact is that, until a solution is found, the world cannot relax. The strange thing is that in both the World Wars, Germany lost—in 1918 and in 1945—and faced ruin and disaster and yet it is of Germany that the world is most afraid today and perhaps Germany is the one who is the least afraid. This is how the balance of power has shifted in the world. I have not mentioned China and East Asia. The fact is that at the moment, the European problems are very significant for they are like the Pandora's Box. If opened, they can unleash all kinds of disasters upon the world.

In East Asia, that is to the east of China, there is the problem of Taiwan Island, which is also known as Formosa. Then there are other problems in the countries of Indo-China. This region is full of danger. A small flame somewhere can spread very rapidly and engulf the whole world. Anyhow, these crucial issues have led to a greater awareness in the world and kindled not merely a desire for peace, but a determination to put an end to all wars.

You have heard about the countries that I visited. I went to the Soviet

3. A declaration of warning against the perils of nuclear war signed by Albert Einstein, P.W. Bridgman of Harvard University, L. Infeld of Warsaw University, J. Muller of Indiana University, C.F. Powell of Bristol University, Joseph Rotblat of London University, Hieki Yukawa of Kyoto University and Joliot-Curie and Bertrand Russell on 18 April 1955 was presented before the public in London on 9 July 1955 by Russell.
4. The Four Power Conference, attended by D.D. Eisenhower, N.A. Bulganin, Anthony Eden and E. Faure, was held in Geneva from 18 to 23 July 1955.
5. In 1870, 1914 and 1940.



Union, which is a very big country.<sup>6</sup> Please remember that the Soviet Union is two and a half times the size of India—and ours is a very large country. Yes, our population is twice theirs but the Soviet Union is larger in area. I visited various parts of the Soviet Union, including those which lie towards Asia like, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, etc., which are at a short distance away from Kashmir. Then I went to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria—and its famous city of Vienna—Yugoslavia and England and everywhere I found the same atmosphere.<sup>7</sup> On the way back, the aircraft stopped for an hour in a German city called Dusseldorf. It was not included in my itinerary and it was at night. So I was amazed to see thousands of people assembled at the airport, which is pretty far from the city. Their voices were booming in welcome. What I want to point out is that the welcome that I received everywhere was not directed at me personally, but mostly due to the fact that I was India's representative carrying a message of peace. These things tremendously increase our responsibility—India's and of every one of us in India. The responsibility is of many kinds. If someone respects us and has some hopes of us, we must make an effort to fulfil those hopes because if we don't, we will no longer deserve that respect. People feel cheated if they think we are great and we turn out to be small. Therefore, it imposes a responsibility on our country and the government, but above all, on the people.

I should like to say something more about that. But before I do so, I should like to remind you about the Summit that is to take place in Geneva between the heads of the United States, England, France and the Soviet Union. Perhaps no other Conference would have been confronted with such a large number of problems as these four great leaders are going to be. I feel that the determination with which these four leaders are going there will ensure that the meeting is not useless. Perhaps they will be able to find a solution. You must have seen two statements in the newspapers today. One is by the American President, Eisenhower, in which he has said that he is going to Geneva with the firm intention and determination of leading the world in a new direction. In his statement yesterday Marshal Bulganin, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, has also said similar things.<sup>8</sup> Now when the leaders of the two

6. Nehru was in the Soviet Union from 7 to 23 June 1955.

7. Nehru was in Prague on 6 and 7 June 1955; in Vienna on 26 and 27 June 1955; in Rome on 7 and 8 July 1955; in Cairo on 11 July 1955; and in Warsaw from 23 June to 26 June 1955; in Belgrade from 30 June to 7 July 1955 and in London from 8 to 10 July 1955.

8. At a press conference in Kremlin on 15 July 1955. Bulganin urged that the Four Powers should "discuss patiently and loyally at a round table unsettled international problems." He said that the Soviet Union, "will exert all efforts" to find a "common language" with the West at the Geneva Summit Conference.

superpowers are going there with such determination, we have a right to think that the Conference will yield some results. To imagine that these four men can get together and solve all the problems of the world is wrong. But it is not wrong to think that they will be able to give a new direction to world affairs, bring them on to the right path and produce the right atmosphere in which the problems of the world can be solved gradually. We can certainly hope for this much. I want that on this occasion when thousands of us are gathered together, we should send our good wishes on behalf of all the citizens of India and the city of Delhi, to Geneva so that the four leaders assembled there should rid the world of wars and find a new way of cooperation by which countries can make progress.

I told you that there was a great responsibility upon us. It is obvious that bigness entails big burdens, whereas the small have only smaller burdens or none. As our country grows in stature, so do our responsibilities increase. Greatness makes its own demands. If we are a great nation, we must remember the demands that go with it internally as well as externally. We cannot say something outside and do something quite different in this country. It is easy to give advice to others but much more difficult to practise it ourselves. After all, why is India respected abroad? Primarily, because the world has seen the progress that we have made in the last seven or eight years. Ultimately, a human being or a nation is respected only if there is strength behind it. Strength can be of different kinds. One is military strength. But there are other factors like courage and bravery. The world saw that our strength lay in our determination and the goals that we had set before us and that the country was progressing fast and becoming more and more powerful day by day, not militarily but in other ways. There is a great deal of hidden strength in this country and as our potential strength gets converted into real strength, we become more powerful. They saw signs of growing power of the country, in our success in planning and the projects that we have undertaken. If you compare India with the other great countries, we have little military power or wealth. We have very few industries nor is our capacity to produce electricity greater. It is obvious that there is no comparison between us and the United States and the Soviet Union. But ours is a growing nation, a nation on the move, a nation which is determined to progress. That is our greatest strength. Many years ago, we had made a firm resolve to be free and though it was a long struggle, we adhered to it and went forward, in spite of the ups and downs that we had to face and ultimately we achieved our goal. This made the country strong and we grew in stature in the world. People began to realise that India could no longer be ignored. So respect for India went up. We do not say that we are superior to other countries or that we have some special qualities. It is absurd to give ourselves such airs. Generally such things are said only by the ignorant, who are content to form opinions on superficial knowledge. It is absurd to



boast about our country or to run down others or feel that we are superior to them. We must learn from other countries. It is true that we should not underestimate ourselves. Why should we run ourselves down? We have our pride and sense of honour. But that does not mean that we should speak ill of others. That is bad manners. I would like to remind you of a basic principle underlying Indian culture down the ages, which a great Indian, Asoka, immortalized in stone 2300 years ago. He had said that a man who decries another religion works for the downfall of his own religion. It is only by giving respect to all religions that we can gain respect for our own religion. I am not putting it very well—Asoka's words are far more beautiful.<sup>9</sup> I do not remember them now. I want you to see his rock edicts. Let me tell you that we are making arrangements to have replicas of his inscriptions made and kept in Delhi. Through them, his voice comes down to us thousands of years later. That is not the voice of Asoka alone but that of the whole of India and we must always bear it in mind.

Asoka talked of religious tolerance but I would say that it should be applied to all ideas. We must respect people's ideas and try to convince others by argument and not by physical force. The world has found that India speaks with a unique voice. There is a subtle difference between her voice and that of others. Let me repeat once again that that does not mean that we are superior to others. It means that we are influenced by the thought of Gandhi and Asoka and Gautama Buddha. Sometimes our voice is weak, and at others, we make a greater effort to follow that path. If we could follow it all the way or understand what they said fully, we would have gone very far by now. To the extent that we understood these things and practised them, we grew in stature and earned the respect of the world. The world realized that we speak in a slightly different voice and tone. We have said in our foreign policy that we will not align ourselves with any big groups. We wish to be friendly to both sides. We will go our own way and be friendly to everyone, and express our opinions freely on any issue. Other countries used to accuse us of cowardice and what not and of being neither here nor there due to fear. In our own country some people criticised us. But our policy is not that of the weak, nor are we neutral in the sense that we would keep quiet and not express any views. Our policy is a strong one which takes into account everything that is going on in the world. It cannot be called neutrality for it has life and some push in it. Gradually the

9. Rock Edict XII of Asoka reads: "...The faiths of others all deserve to be honoured for one reason or another. By honouring them one exalts one's faith and at the same time performs a service to the faith of others. By acting otherwise, one injures one's own faith and also does disservice to that of others. For if a man extols his own faith and disparages another because of devotion to his own and because he wants to glorify it, he seriously injures his own faith...."



world recognised this fact and many of their doubts were removed. Even those who were not in agreement with our policy began to respect us and later became convinced by our arguments. This has come about gradually. Ours is a very sound policy in two ways. First of all, it is based on a sound principle. But more important is the fact that it provides an answer to the world's dilemma. There is no other answer to the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb, for it is no solution to produce more of them.

I come back once again to the question of the responsibility which devolves upon all of us in India. I want you to think about it and bear it in mind while trying to solve the various problems before us. I know that it is easy to profess something but difficult to act upon it. I know that everyday many complex problems arise before the Government in which the passions of the people pull in different directions—and often they are justified. Let me give you an example. This is a current problem in which all of you are interested and every Indian ought to be interested in it. It is the example of Goa. We won freedom for a large country like ours and even the small pockets where the French were ruling were merged into India peacefully and by mutual agreement. But in the small little pocket of Goa colonialism still exists, and all sorts of wrong things are being done by the regime. I do not wish to sound harsh but the Portuguese Government is wrong. They present absurd arguments. The events of the last few months are common knowledge. The *satyagrahis* who went there were brutally treated, and in fact, two of them were killed, one on the spot and the other in hospital.<sup>10</sup> Is it surprising that the people of India are angered by all this? It is something to be angry about. Just imagine, how long do you think any country in the world, especially a powerful one, would have waited patiently and peacefully, if it was faced by such a problem? Those who criticise us must take this into account. I have seen reports in newspapers from London and other countries taunting us that we pose as messengers of peace but are trying to put pressure on Goa.<sup>11</sup> I am amazed. If you are looking for an example of great patience in any government, it is in our dealings with Goa. I am not at all sorry about this and in fact I will tell you that we will continue to be patient and try to solve the issue peacefully, because I feel that is the proper line to take. I have no doubt about it that we will solve the problem in this

10. See *post.* p. 396.

11. For example, the *Sunday Times* commented editorially on 5 June 1955 on Nehru's statement that the Indians had a right to enter Goa and that he admired their courage, that "could there be a blunter or a plainer incitement to illegal and potentially violent acts against it?" It also commented that the talk of "unity of the subcontinent or colonialism merely muddles the issue."

way, because no issue in today's world can stand in isolation. It is connected with various other problems of the world. This is the mistake that people and governments often make. Two World Wars were fought and the Allies won both times and inflicted a resounding defeat on their opponents. But the moment the war is over, they say that though one problem had been solved, other, more complicated problems had arisen in its place. This was no way of establishing peace or solving a problem. What is the use of a treatment which cures one illness and gives rise to other maladies? Therefore, we must not look at this issue in isolation. Now, we can march in a few hundred troops because Goa is after all a tiny little place and the whole thing would be over in a few hours. It can be done but it will mean that we are forgetting the other issues connected with this problem and the impact that our action will have on India and the world. It is not a wise course to take some action which will give rise to various other complications and also lower India's prestige in the eyes of the world. So we must think carefully about all this. It is obvious that the government has to take proper steps to solve the Goa problem and we will do so. I cannot tell you what steps we are proposing to take, but I would like to tell you that we want to solve this problem peacefully and shall stand firmly by that principle. The solution when it comes will be a permanent one with the least harassment and difficulty for the people and will give rise to no further complications, and enhance India's prestige too.

As you know, I had gone to Rome on my tour abroad. It is a great, historic city. I met the Pope<sup>12</sup> of the Roman Catholic Church who is an elderly man, over eighty years of age. He had been very ill recently but fortunately he recovered from his illness. So, I was very happy to meet him because he is one of the world's respected leaders. I did not go to him with a complaint about Goa, for it would have been improper for me to discuss our internal problems with any outside source. It was merely mentioned that the problem of Goa was not a religious issue because I told him that we have more than sixty or seventy lakh Roman Catholics living in the south for the last 1500 years or more, with the same rights as any of us. They are represented in Parliament, they took part in our freedom movement and so they are our colleagues and brothers. There is no question of religion in this. We are all Indians and each one of us is free to follow his own religion. So I told him that as against the two lakh Roman Catholics in Goa, we had seventy lakhs of them in India as a whole. I also said that there were four lakh people in Goa belonging to other religions, mostly Hindus. So it was a political question. I wanted to make this quite clear to him. The Portuguese say that Goa has been in their possession for four hundred years or so. This only proves that they must be removed as quickly as

12. Pius XII, originally Eugenio Pacelli, (1876-1958); Supreme Pontiff. 1939-58.



possible from here. Enough wrong has been done and now the place must be cleaned.

I have talked to you about Goa. There are other problems before us. Our relations with Pakistan have improved considerably and the bitterness in people's hearts is slowly receding, which is a good thing, for after all, there is not much difference between the people of the two countries. We have lived as one people for a long time. Yet there are disputes, some of which have been settled. Now rail traffic has also been resumed and some other things are getting settled. This is not the time or the occasion to blame Pakistan for failing to do something. We have many complaints and so have they. I feel that my complaints are justified and theirs are not. Anyhow, I do not want to enter into this argument because when it is a question of a dispute between two countries, there can be no conclusive argument. After all, what is our objective? It is not our object to fight a court case but to somehow find a common meeting ground. When that is the case, it is futile to keep repeating old stories and to try to blame the other side. Sometimes it has to be done to explain our point. Among the disputes between Pakistan and India, there is the issue of Kashmir, about which I would like to say a few words though this is not the time to go into details. I want to mention a few things because once again, the Pakistani newspapers have started a special debate about this issue. You may have read that the Prime Minister of Pakistan has sent a letter to me with some queries. There is a mention of the statement made by my colleague, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, in Srinagar and I have been asked to confirm or deny it.<sup>13</sup> Well, I will say whatever I have to in my reply to the Prime Minister of Pakistan in a few days. But broadly speaking, what was it that Pantji said about the Kashmir issue? The Prime Minister of Pakistan has asked in his letter whether India will forget her promises and ignore the pledge she had taken before the world? My firm reply is that we have kept our word in the past and will continue to do so in future. There is no doubt whatsoever about it. After all, we have been talking to them about these problems for the last seven or eight years but with what result? Moreover, anyone can go to Kashmir and see for himself the great progress that the State has made. Tourists flock there in large numbers—I think the number was thirty or forty thousand this year, which is unprecedented during the last few years. This is not a secret. But though we have been having discussions with Pakistan for the last seven or eight years, and a United Nations Commission was set up, some obstacle or the other has been cropping up. In short, we have not been able to reach a decision so far. It is possible to keep up with the discussions and try to find a way. I am prepared for that. But the question is whether it is wise to keep walking blindly in circles without looking for a way to solve this problem to the satisfaction of both parties and with the

13. See *post.* pp. 193-195.



least amount of disruption. After all, the problem has to be solved and promises have to be kept.

Pantji said in Kashmir that many things had happened in the last seven or eight years and all kinds of new problems had arisen. It is obvious that the world has changed and so has Kashmir, at least the part which is on our side. We have adopted a new Constitution in which there is mention of Kashmir. It is obvious that that is binding. It is stated in the Constitution that whatever we decide about Kashmir has to be ratified by the Kashmir Assembly. All these things are binding upon us and we have to keep that in mind. So Pantji drew attention to these facts and rightly so. But it would be wrong if anyone accused us of breaking our promises. We are prepared to abide by them but how to do so successfully has to be considered. There is no sense in repeating a lesson by rote for it does not give result.

There are a couple of other things which I want to discuss with you. One is the Akali movement which started here in the Punjab, especially in Amritsar, just around the time that I was going abroad, continued for a while but was over by the time I reached here.<sup>14</sup> I had mentioned a few things about this even then. I want that not only you, but all the people of the Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs and everyone else, must think about what I said in the beginning today. You must remember how international problems affect us and the new turn that the world is trying to take which will change the complexion of those problems and about the great things that are happening in India. We are trying to progress. You must keep this larger picture in mind when you consider the issues involved in the Akali movement. I am amazed at the kind of thinking that is brought to bear upon these issues. How can we hope to progress by being so petty-minded? I am not interested in blaming anybody. I cannot say that nobody should ever do satyagraha. It is possible that it may be necessary sometimes. But to go on strike or hunger-strike or undertake satyagraha over day-to-day problems, whether it is a political problem or an industrial or labour dispute, is absolutely wrong. I want you to realize that it weakens us politically, even if they are able to succeed in getting what they want. They lower their prestige and weaken themselves in this way and there will be less respect for their intelligence in the eyes of others. This is worth considering because an independent nation which is advancing, and is no longer immature, has to adopt different methods of working. We must give up these ways. Whether it is Hindus or Sikhs or anyone else that are involved, they are wrong. It is possible that by going on strike or creating some pressure, they may be able to gain some small benefit but it will not take them far if they adopt wrong methods. In fact, it

14. The Shiromani Akali Dal announced on 12 July 1955 its decision to suspend the sixty-four day-old *morcha* against the Government ban on linguistic slogans as a goodwill gesture.

will do harm later. If you take my personal view, both the Sikhs and the Hindus have made a number of mistakes in the Punjab and continue to do so. The people of the Punjab are specially fond of slogans and I am a little tired of them whether they demand a Punjabi State or a Greater Punjab. Whatever it is, why don't you talk? We can either solve these problems by mutual consent and by ordinary democratic methods or by wielding the stick. Are we going to start a civil war in the country? That is absurd. We have great tasks before us and these methods will not work. Now it is a good thing that the movement is over. I hope the people in the Punjab will keep quiet now and discuss whatever they have to peacefully, for shouting and screaming is not becoming for a brave people like the Sikhs. They are extremely capable in some ways. But I regret to say that they take a totally wrong line and I find it difficult to explain anything to them. They must realize that the destinies of the Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab or of the Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and others all over India are linked together. If each group began to indulge in a show of strength over small or big matters, neither they nor the country will benefit except perhaps momentarily. If anybody does benefit momentarily, the price that has to be paid in terms of bitterness and quarrels and lingering hatred will be terrible. Whatever problems the Hindus or Sikhs or anyone else has, they must sit down and talk it over and remove them. I have often heard two or three complaints from the Sikhs. One is about language, another about services and something else—which I cannot remember but it is unimportant—oh yes, it is about the scheduled classes. As far as the question of language is concerned, it was decided a few days ago to follow the Sachar Formula.<sup>15</sup> So there is no argument about it except that it is not being implemented properly. Well, if it is not being implemented, see to it that it is. What is there to make a noise about? It is my request to all of you, especially to the people of the Punjab, to the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab, to put an end to this quarrel and not to reduce the province to a standstill.

I wish to mention one thing more. A strike has been going on in the factories of Kanpur for the last two months or so.<sup>16</sup> It has excited a great deal of passion.

15. The Sachar Formula, named after the Chief Minister Bhimsen Sachar, had suggested both Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script and Hindi in Devanagari script to be made compulsory in primary school. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, p. 498.
16. The Suti Mill Mazdoor Sabha called a general strike of workers of eleven textile mills in Kanpur on 8 April 1955, protesting against: forced imposition of increased workload; continued rationalisation measures resulting in retrenchment; refusal by State labour department to refer these matters for adjudication; and victimisation. The strike began on 2 May 1955 and was called off on 20 July when the Chief Minister of UP announced appointment of a committee, under a retired High Court Judge, to draw up a scheme of rationalisation without affecting the labourer's interests.



I feel that the time has gone when we could solve our problems in this way in India or anywhere else. The dispute is about such a petty matter—I mean petty in the way it was presented—that it is absolutely wrong that it should have generated so much passion. Now, I do not want to criticise anyone. In my opinion, whoever has advised the workers has advised them wrongly. I do not wish to criticise the workers or the trade unions because they are my colleagues and I need their cooperation. I do not want any bitterness to linger in their hearts and I hope the dispute will be settled quickly. We must work in mutual cooperation and harmony and solve the problems with proper understanding.

I have given you a few examples to show how we must work. Ultimately India's prestige and progress depend upon how we can work and succeed in our Second Five Year Plan, etc. I have just come back after visiting the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and other countries. I saw the great progress they are making through sheer hard work and toil. Those countries have become powerful and are advancing steadily. We can also progress only by the sweat of our brows, not by shouting slogans or making a noise. Therefore, we must pay attention to all these things and try to fulfil the big responsibility that has descended upon our shoulders. I thank the people and the Municipal Corporation for the kind welcome they have given me. *Jai Hind*.

### 3. Socio-Economic Revolution for Progress<sup>1</sup>

Munishwar Duttji<sup>2</sup> has told you what I am going to speak about without even consulting me. I am myself not sure as to what I want to say. Generally I do not come prepared with a lecture on any particular subject. Ideas come crowding in, and then, looking at the audience, I say whatever comes to my mind.

As you know, I have been here since yesterday to have a look at the damage that the floods have caused and to consult people about the problem. I flew over some districts by plane and met the people.<sup>3</sup> There are large parts of

1. Speech at the Kali Prasad Intermediate College, Allahabad, 8 August 1955. AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Munishwar Dutt Upadhyaya was the President of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee.
3. After an aerial survey of the flood affected districts of Bara Banki, Faizabad and Basti on 7 August 1955, Nehru described the floods as a 'major disaster'. On 8 August 1955, he spent four hours in the flood affected areas of the Allahabad District.



Uttar Pradesh like Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, etc., where I have not been able to go. The people of these districts have suffered great losses. But even without going to all the places, I have been able to form a picture of the sufferings of the people. So my coming here has been useful. It is obvious that the most urgent priority is to provide immediate relief to the flood-affected people. But even more important is the arrangements that need to be made for the future.

Ultimately, the fact remains that we cannot escape the floods. They are a natural phenomenon and occur again and again, sometimes in a small way and at other times on a large scale. Science has so far not discovered a method of either producing rains or stopping them. It is possible that in the future some way may be discovered.

The people of Uttar Pradesh, Bengal, Bihar and Assam live in the shadow of the Himalayas. The great Himalayas have benefited India in various ways. But sometimes they are cruel too. All the areas which lie in the foothills of the Himalayas have been formed by floods from the mountains over millions of years. The torrents gushing down from the Himalayas bring mud and sand in large quantities and deposit them on the plains. This is how large parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Bihar have been formed.

Therefore, floods are nothing new. Nowadays, they cause a great uproar and engineers run helter skelter to control the floods. But there have been floods for millions of years and presumably there were no engineers then to control them. They were regarded as an act of fate and once the fury was spent, people would pick up the pieces and go on.

Well, it is a good thing that people are no longer willing to submit to fate. It is better to challenge fate than to submit tamely. Human beings become stronger by doing so. Have you ever paused to consider how mankind has gone from strength to strength? The ultimate symbol of that strength is the atom bomb. Atomic energy is usually before us in its destructive aspect. But as a matter of fact, it is a great source of power which is gradually being brought under control by man. If man uses it for evil and ultimately destroys himself, that would be due to his own stupidity. If it is properly used, it can lead to beneficial results.

In short, atomic energy is a tremendous source of power. If you read the history of mankind, you will find that for thousands of years man possessed no knowledge of any source of energy except his own physical strength. Gradually he produced some tools which did not go very far. There was a great upheaval when for the first time man learnt to recognize the potential of steam power. You will find that there was a complete revolution in the world with that discovery. The railway engine and the locomotive steam ships and all kinds of new machines made their appearance. The Industrial Revolution had begun and soon it transformed the world.

Then came the discovery of electricity. That was also something which had always been present in nature. Once it was brought under control, it ushered in great changes. You are aware of the great transformation wrought by the Industrial Revolution during the last 150 years or so. There have been great political revolutions in history, most notably those in France and in the Soviet Union. But they seem minor in the face of the Industrial Revolution which has turned the whole world topsy-turvy. Science has helped man to harness the sources of nature's hidden energies. We do not know what other energies nature has up its sleeves. But the two or three which have been discovered so far have changed the picture completely.

Take the day-to-day discoveries which are all around us. You can hear the latest news from New York, London or Delhi on the radio. It is all in the air. No wires are used. It may have become commonplace now. But it is an extraordinary thing, just like the telephone, telegraph, etc.

Similarly, there has been great progress in modern warfare and the weapons are becoming more and more lethal day by day. Now, a tremendous new source of power, atomic energy, which is produced by splitting the atom, has made its appearance. So far atomic energy has been used for evil, for producing the bomb. Do you know that it was around this time, on the Sixth of August, ten years ago, that the first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in Japan? The second one followed on the Ninth of August on another Japanese city, Nagasaki. This happened ten years ago and immediately warned the world of the dangerous potential of the atom bomb. Since then, more lethal weapons have been developed like the hydrogen bomb. These activities go on all the time in secret. But by a strange coincidence, a Conference is beginning in Geneva today to go into the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.<sup>4</sup> One of India's great scientists, Dr Bhabha, is the president of the Conference. Let me tell you how that happened. Dr Bhabha is the president not because there are no other eminent scientists in the world or that he has been acknowledged as the greatest scientist, though he is eminent, but because there is no mutual trust among the others. They are constantly preparing for war. Since India keeps herself aloof from this field, people tend to trust us and feel that we would be objective and impartial.

Well, atomic energy is a tremendous source of energy which man has acquired by splitting the atom. Just as the Industrial Revolution transformed the world a couple of hundred years ago, the new discovery, the atomic revolution can bring about even more spectacular changes in the world. It will take another twenty or thirty years. But we are standing on the threshold of a new revolution.

4. The first international Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was held in Geneva from 8 to 21 August 1955.



I want you to try to understand this and look at India's own problems in that contest. Atomic energy can help us to move mountains, in a sense. It can achieve extraordinary results because it is a thousand million times more powerful than electricity. We are on the threshold of this new world. What should be our role in this situation? The strange thing is that though the human mind is capable of extraordinary discoveries and progress with the aid of science, the mind of the ordinary human being lags far behind. It fails to grasp the changing times. The times change without waiting for anyone. But the average human mind refuses to grasp it. We travel by car, aeroplane and train, send messages on the wireless or listen to the radio. But more often than not, our minds are imprisoned in a bygone age, except in a very few cases. The result is that we are unable to take full advantage of the new developments in science and technology. We must refresh our thinking a little and strive to understand the modern world. It is because we failed to do so in the past that we fell behind while the rest of the world went ahead and became affluent and extraordinarily powerful militarily. They advanced in the field of science and technology by leaps and bounds while we remained where we were, steeped in conceit about our superiority. The moment a nation or race thinks it has nothing new to learn, it becomes stagnant and stops growing. That is the beginning of its downfall.

If you look at the history of India and the world during the last three or four hundred years, you will find a great widening of the chasm between the advanced countries and us. Before that, there may have been differences but they were marginal. The real difference came about with the new developments in science. You will find that India lost its freshness of outlook and became mentally stagnant. It lost its ability to look for new things and the capacity for creativity. Once that is absent, the mind becomes stagnant. Creativity is the hallmark of a nation's vitality whether it is in the field of science, literature, art or architecture. Once a nation loses its creative ability, it is obvious that it becomes stagnant and backward.

If you read Indian history, you will find that our ancestors had a tremendous vitality. It is amazing to look back on that period when India abounded in creative talent in every field, in thought and literature, art, architecture, etc. You find evidence of it to this day. Ancient Indian literature was of a very high quality. The monuments of olden times reflect great strength and beauty. You can find traces of India's creativity not only here but in far distant countries like Indonesia, Indo-China, Cambodia, and elsewhere. Then came a period in Indian history when that power of creativity gradually disappeared. Outwardly we remained the same. But we lost the ability to do anything new. We were content to repeat old lessons by rote. Learned treatises and critiques of old works kept appearing. But there was nothing new forthcoming. Then gradually the commentaries also became third-rate affairs.



Take our literature. After reaching great heights of excellence, it suddenly becomes tame, completely lacking in power. There was the age of Vedas, where every verse makes a profound impact. Then came the age of Kalidasa, when literature scaled new heights of excellence, beauty and vitality. Three or four hundred years after that you will find the power and vitality which characterized Indian literature earlier gradually evaporating. Stanzas become longer and more ornate. This was a far cry from the age of the Vedas, when one short verse conveyed such a wealth of meaning that whole volumes were written to explain it. Now each stanza became a page long. What did it mean? The fault lay not in the language but in the minds of the people. They had lost all vitality and creativity. They were content with outward glitter and show and repeating lessons by rote.

Similarly, look at our ancient monuments. Their architecture makes a tremendous impact. But in the later ages, buildings became more ornate with good carvings and embellishments but lacking the strength and vitality. I am not saying that they were bad. But they fail to make an impact. I am merely pointing out how a nation's vitality, in the creative fields, flows and ebbs.

You may blame the British conquest of India for our downfall. The fact is that Britain had by then grown into a nation of tremendous vitality and creativity with an unquenchable thirst for new knowledge, while India had become an ease-loving nation, unwilling to learn anything new. You can see the effect this outlook had on our society.

Indian society became stagnant. The people of India who had once upon a time travelled far and wide, taking with them their arts, culture, literature and religion, became lifeless. During the time of Asoka, Indians had carried the message of Buddhism to half the world. They had tremendous vitality. Then suddenly you find that foreign travel became taboo and those who disobeyed began to be regarded as social outcastes, who had to do penance for their sin. You can see how a society gradually falls. There was a time of creativity and strength, physical and mental, with a thirst for new knowledge and adventure, when the sky was the limit for us. That was the age when we were completely fearless. Then came another era when people became mentally stagnant, afraid of their own shadows and unwilling to do anything seemed the safest course. When an entire nation adopts this outlook, it is bound to fall. Europe advanced and Asia was on the downward trend.

At last, the countries of Asia took a new turn and freedom movements gained momentum everywhere. That was a sign of a new awakening and the emergence of a new vitality and strength. Now the question is whether we can harness the new vitality to forge ahead and become creative once again or not. It is obvious that merely making a noise is not the sign of a nation full of vitality. Anybody can do that. You cannot forcibly inject vitality in a nation. However, circumstances can help to create that vitality. History will be the

judge of the extent of our vitality. As far as one can see, and this is an opinion shared by people in other countries too, India has entered a new phase of her history. It is obvious that there are grave shortcomings in us. We are a poor country, weak, constrained by old traditions customs and outlook. But in spite of all this a new vitality is spreading among the masses in the country. There is a new confidence in us and a spirit of self-reliance. This engenders fresh hope. But ultimately it is up to us to work hard and fulfil those hopes. There has to be overall development.

The main objective before us was the political independence of India and we accomplished it. A political revolution is essential for a country, no doubt, but it is insufficient. The other revolution which is much more important is the economic revolution under which the eradication of poverty, raising of the standard of living of the people, takes place. These are the problems that we are facing today. But equally important, along with the political and economic revolution is the social revolution. The inner social structure needs to be drastically changed so that we can prepare ourselves for the modern world, take advantage of all that it has to offer, and march ahead.

It is only when these three kinds of revolutions go hand in hand that a nation acquires vitality and progresses. At the moment, we are particularly concerned with the economic revolution and rightly so, because it is very essential. But tied to it is the social revolution. When I talk of revolutions, I mean change. Violence and hooliganism can bring about some change. But it is not a true revolution. Revolution means changing the structure of society. A society is a growing, changing entity. History shows us that a society has to keep changing. I agree that old, proven principles are permanently relevant and remain unchanged. But principles are different from the ordinary customs and traditions which govern a society. They differ from country to country. History shows that the norms and customs governing societies also change from time to time.

There was a time when slavery was quite common practically all over the world. It was not looked down upon by anyone, not even the great philosophers. Take Plato for instance, one of the greatest philosophers of Greece. He has drawn a picture of an ideal society in which he has given slavery a place. Today who among us will accept slavery as a necessity? Not a single person will. So something which was accepted by the greatest minds at one time has come to be looked down upon because of the changing times. So it has been given up. When the question of abolition of slavery first came up in the West—we did not have slavery in India in that form—there were heated debates. The argument was that it would be wrong to give up something which had the sanction of great scholars and intellectuals. Secondly, it was felt that it would be unjust to the slaves when they would have no masters to look after them. Ultimately slavery was abolished.



I have given you an example to show how stiffly change is opposed when it concerns long established customs and traditions. The argument is not that they are still relevant to us but that they have come down through the centuries and were accepted by our ancestors; so they should not be changed. They do not pause to think that our ancestors lived in a different age and milieu in which those customs and traditions might have been relevant. But it has to be understood clearly that something which was suited to an earlier age can become an anomaly in another and cannot be allowed to exist. So it has to be changed. That is social change.

Take another example, that of land ownership. There was a time when the king owned all the land in a country and the people were his serfs and vassals. He was free to sell and do what he wished with any property. Then gradually the land was parcelled out among noblemen and the system of zamindari, fiefdom, came into being. Then in our own times, this system of land tenure came to be questioned. There was no aspersion cast on the zamindars themselves. But the system had become anomalous. I am prepared to accept that it may have been relevant a few hundred years ago. The question is whether it is relevant in today's world.

This is the yardstick that has to be applied to every issue. There is often heated debate against capitalism and it is roundly abused often without understanding what it is all about. But there is no doubt about it that it is capitalism which was responsible for the tremendous progress made in the world during the last 150 odd years. It entailed great hardships and repression, which is another matter. But the world progressed due to capitalism. That is not open to doubt. The question is whether a capitalistic structure of society is right in today's world. Looking at it from another angle and in the narrower context of our own country, we have to consider whether it is relevant to us in the present times. Only then can we find the right answer. It is difficult for us to say what might be relevant for other countries because there are differences. I cannot say what is right for the United States or the Soviet Union. It is up to the people of those countries to decide for themselves. I can only venture an opinion on the grounds of principle. But a nation has to decide for itself the kind of social structure it wants depending on its conditions.

Now it is possible that a particular social organization may be right for India. But it would be wrong if I advise the African countries to follow suit. Their conditions are different. Therefore, the answer to any question that we may consider has to be sought in the context of the times, the condition and circumstances in which we find ourselves. If anybody asks me what kind of social organization I want for India, my reply would be that first of all, I am not prepared to get into a debate over the relative merits of capitalism, communism, socialism and Gandhism. We tend to lose ourselves in hair-splitting. These terms have meanings and must be used in the appropriate context. But it

would be better to consider what we have to do without getting into all that rhetoric. We must lift the millions of our countrymen by getting rid of their poverty. We must improve their standard of living and provide opportunities for progress. We must ensure that all of them must have a means of livelihood and facilities for education, health care, etc. Above all, there must be an opportunity for everyone to bring out their creative spirit; whether it is an artist, architect or writer, there should be a new vitality in them. I want to create an atmosphere of general prosperity and creativity in which people are mentally agile and capable of undertaking new research, of building a new world.

This is what I want to do. That is not open to argument. The question is how to go about it and the kind of socio-economic structure that we ought to build. Broadly speaking, I want that there should be a socialist pattern of society. But that does not mean that I believe in some rigid pattern of socialism which is to be imposed here. We have to search for a path for ourselves based on the broad principles and then implement it. We will learn as we go along from our mistakes and experience. That is how we can progress. No nation progresses by copying others. We can learn from others and teach them what we can. But the mentality of imitation will take us nowhere. Everything, then becomes artificial and imposed from above, whether it is in the realm of ideas or practical working. So you must remember that we should imbibe any knowledge which the world has to offer and learn from the experience of others. But we must do so with fresh minds and search for truth. We must not tag ourselves to others. We must strive to solve our problems from our own experience and by learning from others, but suited to our own conditions and the capacity of our people. We have to go forward step by step. That is why we have adopted planning. We do not claim that the plan is a rigid document which cannot be perfected. The fact of the matter is that it is drawn up after a great deal of careful thought. Many of the things which are included are mere guess work. Nobody knows whether they will work or not. The thing which keeps us guessing most is the amount of work the thirty-six crores of human beings are prepared to do. Ultimately it is that which counts, not government fiats or laws. If the people work with a will, we can achieve a great deal in no time at all. If not, it will take us years to get anywhere.

So we have to put in many things merely as a guess. Whatever be our hopes and aspirations, as far as possible, we try to have a realistic estimate of what is possible and draw up a set of priorities for ourselves. As you know, when the First Plan was drawn up, there were grave food shortages in the country. In a country like India, scarcity of foodgrains could undermine the entire economic organization. If there are food shortages in the West, they can tide over the crisis because they produce a great deal of industrial goods which can be sold and the money used to buy food. But in a predominantly rural



agricultural country like India, food shortages can work havoc. There is nothing for us to fall back upon.

Therefore, we had to lay great stress on increasing food production. We laid stress on increasing the average yield per acre from land already under cultivation and secondly, on bringing new, fallow land under cultivation. Our aim was to increase the average yield from eleven *maunds* to fifteen or even twenty *maunds* per acre. Thirdly, we paid attention to irrigation by taking up river valley schemes. Another aspect on which we laid stress was the generation of power.

We need power for industrialization. How is power generated? It can be either thermal power or hydroelectric power which is transmitted through wires for a thousand different purpose. A good yardstick to gauge the extent of progress in any country is the amount of power that is generated. India ranks pretty low in this. At the top of the list are countries like the United States, UK, the Soviet Union etc. India is way behind them. The real yardstick of India's poverty is the negligible amount of power that we generate.<sup>5</sup>

That is why we have set up huge river valley schemes like the Damodar Valley, Bhakra Nangal, the Rihand dam in Mirzapur and others all over the country. Electricity increases our capacity for production. That is why we want atomic energy too, because it can be utilized in a thousand different ways.

Why have the western countries like England, Germany and others advanced so rapidly in the last two or three hundred years? You will find two or three factors in common in all those countries. One, they were leading in scientific research. Two, they had plenty of steel and coal which combined with the new scientific discoveries and inventions, led to new sources of energy. You will find that every single nation which has advanced during the last 100 years or so had an abundance of coal and steel. Then they generated a great deal of power.

I am giving you a hint so that your minds may be drawn to the real problems that India faces today. There is all round development in the country but in a sense, more in the region bordering Bengal and Bihar because coal and steel are available there. The Tata Steel Works were located there for this reason. Now we are putting up steel plants in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa because steel and coal are plentiful there. This is the only way to progress. We cannot make plans in the air.

As you know, I have just returned from a tour of many foreign countries. I spent most of my time in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Yugoslavia and Italy, and visited England and Egypt also briefly. I did not

5. For example, while in 1953 India produced 6,697 million kWh of electricity, the UK produced 65,512 million kWh. In 1955 India generated only 8,592 million kWh of electricity.

have the time to stop anywhere for very long to do a deeper study. But I wanted to learn from what I saw at a glance. A new world is emerging everywhere. You must have heard of the new social structure which has been built in the Soviet Union. But you find changes everywhere—Germany, England and in other countries. It is an entirely new world, completely different from the days when I was studying in school and college in England. India has not changed as much as England and the other western countries have changed since my childhood. Rightly or wrongly, there are changes on all sides.

I wanted to see what was happening, which I did. I saw many things which I had only read about. New thoughts and ideas came into my mind and I looked about constantly to do what we could do in India and which of the changes would benefit us. Basically my feeling is that we should cooperate with all the other countries and take advantage of the advance made by them but ultimately we have to find a solution to our problems ourselves, not by copying others. We can take their help, no doubt. But we cannot go very far by merely repeating what others say. No nation has ever progressed in this manner.

India must become self-reliant and produce whatever we need right here. There is no doubt about it that the Soviet Union has managed to create an entirely new society over the last thirty or forty years. There is a tremendous difference between their social structure and that of the other western countries. I feel that there are many things that we can learn from their experience in two ways. We can try to adopt what we like from their social system and avoid other things which we do not like. This is so of all the countries, whether it is the UK, the United States or some other country.

Take the United States. It is a huge country, almost thrice the size of India, and possesses enormous wealth. You cannot imagine how wealthy America is. It is the largest capitalist country in the world. The poorest man in the United States can compete with our rich. It is not as if they have plundered the wealth of other countries, ninety per cent of it has been produced in their country, by the people themselves, through their hard work and advance in science and technology. There are great disparities in the United States also. But their poorest people are better off than the rich in India. There is no poverty in America.

Anyhow, they have had 150 years to reach where they are. We do not have that much time. We want to eradicate poverty quickly. Therefore, the complexion of the effort required changes. Let me tell you one thing more to prove that it is not easy for any country to copy another. If we try to copy the West in industrialization, we have to bear in mind the fact that whereas the West advanced over a period of 150 years we want to do it in fifteen to twenty years. So we cannot copy what they did. It will not be tolerated in the modern times. So what is to be done?



Let us take the example of the Soviet Union which is, I think, eight times the size of India with a population which is half of ours. So in a sense they have sixteen times as much land in proportion to their population. The entire complexion of the matter changes. The problem in India is of too large a population dependent on very small parcels of land. There they have vast tracts of land, hundreds and thousands of miles of it, completely unpopulated. So it is not feasible to try to find a solution to our problems by looking at the conditions which exist in the Soviet Union. They use huge machines and tractors for agriculture. I found that in Siberia there were practically no people. I went by car over a hundred miles up and down, and did not see a single village anywhere. There were newly cultivated fields on either side and tractors were being used to plough the fields. Finally, I saw a small tractor station with forty or fifty houses. The people who lived there were also from outside and a handful of people were farming miles of fields with the help of huge machines.

Now, you will not find open spaces like that in India. Moreover, if we were to start using huge machines, millions of human beings will become redundant. So the problem is entirely different in India. Those who think that we can get by through copying others are mistaken. We can learn from others and implement whatever suits our conditions. These are some of the thoughts that came to my mind.

I saw that in the Soviet Union, within the last ten years, huge cities have come up and more are coming up. Industries are coming up everywhere. It is the same in Germany too. Germany and large chunks of the Soviet Union lay in ruins after the Second World War. But now you can find very little evidence of it. Buildings and industries have risen everywhere within ten years. The fact of the matter is that the people in those countries are strong, hard working and determined. They do not sit around arguing endlessly. They work hard.

Many of you would have seen the film on my visit to the Soviet Union. They took photographs wherever I went. You have seen me taking the guard of honour again and again. All this must have given you an idea of the grand welcome which was given to our party. It happened not only in the Soviet Union but in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Yugoslavia and everywhere else I went. They were all different in their own ways. I visited Rome also. On my way back from London, the plane halted for an hour and a half in a German city. It was not on my itinerary. It was a technical halt for refuelling, but I was amazed to find a large crowd of Germans assembled at the airport at that time of the evening when there had been no formal announcement of my halt in that city. They stayed around until we left after dinner.<sup>6</sup>

It was a strange thing and I wondered why the Germans had behaved as they did. I agree that they may have heard of me. But they must have heard of

6. In Dusseldorf on 10 July.

many other statesmen too. Why did people come out in large crowds everywhere? I do not think it had anything to do with me personally. It went deeper than that. For one thing, there is great respect for India in the world, not because we are wealthy or militarily powerful but because of the policy of complete independence that we follow. Gradually people have become convinced that whether they like it or not, our policy is basically one of honesty and integrity. We do what we think is proper without yielding to pressure. Secondly, the cornerstone of India's foreign policy is world peace. I feel that everywhere in the world, the people are thirsting for peace. People in India are peace-loving too. But that is nothing compared to the great desire for peace that exists in the world today because we have had no experience of a great war. Europe has had ample experience of it. There is not a single family in Europe which has not lost a member in the World Wars. Entire cities were reduced to ruins. You cannot imagine the untold hardships that the people of Europe have had to bear. So their desire for peace is based not only on a principle but stems from the traumatic experience of wars in the past.

The two World Wars brought terrible enough destruction. But now the curtain has risen on the frightening possibility of nuclear warfare which has sent a chill down people's spines. The statesmen and politicians of the West have become particularly alive to this terrible danger. A nuclear war could lead to the complete destruction of human civilization as we know it. Nuclear weapons are so lethal that once unleashed, nobody knows where the whole thing will end. The entire atmosphere will be polluted by the nuclear fallout for years to come.

Anyhow, these are the various reasons which have led to a great desire for peace among the western powers. They realize that India is making tremendous efforts to maintain peace in the world and our efforts have paid off on many occasions when war has been averted in the nick of time. I had gone there as an ambassador of India carrying the message of peace. So I was given a warm welcome.

What are the implications of this? India is held in great respect in the world. But sometimes I get scared because we have to be strong and stable to continue to enjoy such a reputation. If we are not, our reputation will suffer and we will be exposed. We cannot gain in stature by paying lip service to peace and stability. Others can see for themselves. At the moment there is respect for India because, for one thing, Mahatma Gandhi's name had made a tremendous impact, as also the manner in which we got freedom by peaceful, non-violent methods. The Congress is held in respect because for the first time in history a political party has led a country to freedom by peaceful methods.

Then grave troubles descended upon us. Traumatic events followed in the wake of Partition. Millions of refugees poured into the country. We somehow managed to control the situation. As you know the problem is by no means



over, particularly in Bengal. But the manner in which we dealt with the situation has made an impression upon the world. The Five Year Plans and our steady progress during the last few years have made the world realize that the people of India are capable of great determination and hard work. Everyone knows that India is a large country, rich in raw materials and natural resources. Once the people get together and work, India can go far. In ten years time India will become a very powerful nation. They realize that we can soon start producing new wealth in the country by various methods and make rapid strides.

So India has earned the respect of the world because of these things. But the hopes far exceed what we are really capable of at the moment. That is dangerous. Therefore, we must remain vigilant and redouble our efforts to match up the expectations of the outside world. If you look at it from the personal point of view, you will find that if your neighbours respect you, it imposes a special responsibility on you not to do anything which would destroy that respect. It is the same with a nation. It is a good thing to have that sense of responsibility because it means that we will not let up on our efforts.

Mahatma Gandhi was a great man, with many unusual qualities. But his greatest quality was that if an individual went to him, he would immediately count his good qualities instead of his shortcomings. So in shame, the individual would try to live up to his expectation. In this way, he would turn even a man of ordinary stature into a good man. All of us were ordinary mortals who grew enormously in stature in his shadow. In this way he enhanced the stature of the whole of India. He gave us big things to think about, great journeys to undertake and in following him, we grew in stature, courage and strength. He taught us to work together, to march in step with one another and to be fearless, to root out fear from our hearts and learn to make sacrifices for a good cause.

Gandhiji taught these lessons to millions of his countrymen. So they impose a great responsibility on us. We did not particularly wish to enter the world stage because there are grave problems before us within the country. Why should we get involved in international problems? But we were drawn into them willy-nilly because once we were free, we could not cut ourselves off from the world. We had to play a role on the world stage, in the United Nations and by sending our ambassadors to various countries. How could we sit by and watch when the problems, whether they concerned Asia or Europe, could lead to war? We had to do something.

The fact of the matter is that a large, independent country like India cannot hide behind a curtain. It has to play a role on the world stage. So in spite of our reluctance, we have become involved in various international issues. We sent our troops to Korea, not for fighting but in a supervisory role. Our troops are stationed in Indo-China also at the moment. Not a day passes without my receiving five or six cables from Indo-China about this problem or that and what steps to take. It is a very difficult situation. We have our own problems

and on top of it, we are expected to advise two adversaries engaged in war. We keep getting news from all over the world. We are in it up to the hilt and cannot avoid the involvement. The only way to discharge our duties in the international field is to order our internal affairs properly. We must find a solution to our problems and forge ahead. We must become strong because that is the only thing that counts in the world, not speeches and lectures.

Now, we come round once again to the Five Year Plans. Planning is the only way to ensure all round development and progress. The draft of the Second Plan will be made public after six months. You will find that we are laying greater stress on heavy industry because if we want to industrialize the country, we need heavy machines. If we import them from other countries, we will become dependent on them for repair and spare parts. A nation cannot progress like this. There are huge textile mills in Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Bombay and elsewhere. It is a good thing to produce all the cloth that we need. But textile mills have little to do with the industrialization. They are marginal things. All the machinery in these mills has been imported.

The basic industry is machine-making industry. Once we start making machines ourselves and other ancilliary industries come up around them, we will not have to go to others. But we need a number of things before we can set up machine-making industries, mainly steel. Steel is extremely important in the modern industrialized world. We produce thirteen to fourteen lakh tonnes of steel in a year. The production of steel is nearly a hundred times as much in the United States. This is yet another proof of their progress. Similarly, the UK, Germany and the Soviet Union also produce large quantities of steel, though less than the United States. India lags far behind in this field.

We cannot progress merely by passing laws. If we pass a law in Delhi that there shall be socialism or communism in the country, it makes no sense. It will not make any difference to the nation. Development has to take place from below. If we want to progress, we will have to put up steel plants, which we are doing. Three new steel plants are coming up, each with a capacity of ten lakhs tons of steel a year.<sup>7</sup> A ton is twenty-eight *maunds*. These steel plants will be in the public sector.

We have to lay the foundations of a strong economic organization by producing steel and setting up machine-making industries. Only then will we become free to progress. So long as we have to buy essential goods and machinery from outside, we remain dependent. Take the matter of warfare. I do not want that there should be a war under any circumstances. But so long as we maintain an army, navy and air force, we ought to be able to build aeroplanes, tanks and other military equipment, within the country.

Please bear in mind that the list of so-called free countries is a long one.

7. At Rourkela (Orissa), Bhilai (Madhya Pradesh) and Durgapur (West Bengal).



There are seventy free countries, big and small, in the world today. But if you look closely, you will find that not all of them are truly free. Independence is not a colour on the map. Independence is the ability to protect one's sovereignty, to be free to follow the policies one chooses. If, even after freedom, a nation lives in the shadow of fear of another and has to bow to another's will, it is not truly free. It is just as dependent as before.

The majority of the countries in the world today are clients of other bigger powers and are dependent on them for everything. They are dependent on them for military and financial aid and cannot go against the wishes of their patrons for fear of offending them. This is not the sign of complete freedom.

That is why we must be totally self-reliant and build heavy industries. The other question which arises is the problem of unemployment. Heavy industries will undoubtedly provide more employment, but it is not enough, because big machines make human beings redundant. Therefore, we want to give a boost to the cottage industries. That does not mean that small machines cannot be used in cottage industries. We want cottage industries to spread and flourish all over the country.

These are the two broad aspects of our economic policy. We will build heavy industries but encourage cottage industries also. We will try to introduce the latest techniques in them to make them more viable. We must not continue to cling to outdated techniques. We must adopt new improved technique.

I do not wish to go into more details. I merely wished to point out the direction that we need to take. There is no magic formula for progress. We have to work hard and move forward gradually, step by step, by laying the foundation of basic industry, heavy industry, cottage industry, light industry, agriculture, etc. Once the wealth of the nation increases, we shall be able to take advantage of the surplus by investing it in other areas of development. The problem in a poor country is that it does not have any surplus left over for development. The United States is an extremely wealthy country, they have so much that they do not know what to do with the capital. They keep generating so much wealth every year that it has upset the balance of the entire world economy.

You must bear in mind that it is not gold and silver that are the wealth of a nation but the goods that it produces. The production of consumer goods in the United States is so enormous that the balance has been upset. There is dollar shortage in the world. The United States has a large surplus for development. In a poor country like India, we are not able to make both ends meet, much less have a surplus. This is the basic problem in backward countries. Once we make some progress and are able to save a little, the process will gather momentum. What does saving mean? It means having a surplus over and above what the country spends. Money comes into the treasury in the form

of taxes or loans floated by the Government. Therefore, it is very essential that people should invest in national development.

For instance, we are setting up three steel plants at the cost of a hundred crores each. It is a very large amount. We shall have to keep ploughing money into them for four or five years without getting anything in return. We shall start reaping the benefits when the plants go into production and we shall get back what we have invested many times over. The money that we earn can be used for other projects. So the more we invest, the faster the rate of growth will be. The problem is that we have very little to invest, either at the Centre or in the States. These are the complex questions that arise and we need the help of the people to overcome these problems.

In the olden days, the ruling princes, big zamindars and capitalists used to give loans to the British Government. The common man was not involved. The days of princes and zamindars have gone. For one thing, their wealth has dwindled considerably. So it is useless to expect anything from them except in the cases of the wealthy few. How then are we to get capital for investment except by borrowing from the common man? They invest small amounts, but when millions of people are involved even that adds up to a huge amount. The people benefit because they get interest on the capital which remains intact. They are saving something for a rainy day and helping their country as well.

Well, these are the economic programmes before us. We can view everything in the broader international perspective. But ultimately what counts is the pace at which we are able to progress and that means the rate of production in the country. The more we produce the greater the national wealth. There must be an equitable distribution of the wealth that is produced. It should not remain in the hands of a few.

I have taken up a great deal of your time. But I wish to talk about a couple of things more. There have been floods, which are nothing new. There have been floods for thousands of years and there will be more in the future. The only difference is that whereas the people put up with the hardships which floods heaped upon them in the olden days, now they get annoyed and demand that steps should be taken to prevent floods. They are quite justified in what they say, we cannot stop floods altogether. But we can be prepared for them and minimize the damage. Thousands of villages have been affected by floods this year.<sup>8</sup> Innumerable houses, mostly cutcha ones, have been washed away. We should now see to it that houses are built on raised ground and not in low-lying areas. They should be strong and able to withstand the onslaught of the floods. I do not say that we should build palaces. But there must be proper planning for rural housing. Nowadays you find human beings living side by

8. Over 10,000 villages, forty lakh acres of standing crops and fifty lakh people were affected by the floods in UP.



side with cattle which is not good for either. They should be kept separately in clean hygienic conditions. There must be proper arrangements for drainage. The investment need not be more than what it is now. All it requires is more careful planning. We must ensure that there is proper drainage so that water does not stagnate. All these things have to be carefully thought out.

At the time of natural calamities, it is the duty of all of us to help. Even a little help goes a long way. Neighbours have to help one another in times of need. So I shall ask the people of Allahabad in particular and the people of Uttar Pradesh and the whole of India too, for that matter, to help the people in the neighbouring districts which have been affected by floods. You can give grain, money, clothes or whatever you like. The District Magistrate has opened a fund here. You can send your contribution to the fund or to me. It would be simpler to send it here. Urban people are more fortunate in a sense than the people in the rural areas. Therefore, it is our duty to help as much as we can when they are in trouble. You can contribute whatever you like.

There are many students present here. Nowadays the word student has become a joke. On my last visit here<sup>9</sup> I said something about the conditions prevailing in the University. There was a very unhealthy atmosphere in the University. The incidents which marred the convocation grieved me deeply.<sup>10</sup> I did not think it proper to express my views openly. But it is obvious that not only I but everyone in India is perturbed by the atmosphere which prevails in the Allahabad University. As to who is responsible is a different issue.

Things have not been going right for some time. But the hooliganism, the slanging match and throwing of brickbats which occurred at the time of the convocation gave the impression to the newspaper readers of a university which had gone to the dogs. This was the feeling shared by many people. Now it is obvious that we cannot start criticising one another. We have to tackle these problems by mutual cooperation. Even less does it mean if we criticise our students. That would be absurd. After all, it is the students of today, whether they are in Allahabad or somewhere else, who will grow up and take up the reins of this country tomorrow. It is obvious that the burden of running the country's affairs will descend on their shoulders. What India would be in the future depends on the kind of people the students of today grow up into. So, it is absurd to criticise them.

I wanted to paint a broad picture before you because, believe me, we are on the threshold of a new age at the moment. We have been moulded by the

9. He was in Allahabad on 22 and 23 March 1955.

10. On 3 March 1955 during the convocation ceremony of Allahabad University, a group of students shouted abusive slogans and made violent gestures against K.M. Munshi, the Chancellor of the University and also Governor of UP. See *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 28. p. 455.

past and are its products. But we are on the threshold of a new age and all these developments are its symbols. I have great hopes from the meeting of the Big Four which took place recently in Geneva. It did not produce any earth-shattering results but it has helped to clear the air. In my opinion it has lightened the fear of war which had cast its dark shadow upon the world during the past few years. But I am more concerned about India's role in this changing world. I want you to keep this in mind. My time is almost up. I shall do my best so long as I have the strength. But soon the reins will pass into the hands of the students of today. I often worry whether they realize their responsibilities and how far they are preparing themselves to meet them.

It is absurd to criticize one another. But we must consider carefully how best to prepare ourselves for the future. It is obvious that the university is the best place for preparing oneself. Therefore, in a sense, the problem of the universities as training centres is one of the most important that we face. If they fail to function, well, they will be less than useless. In fact, they will positively do harm. In this context, I have already mentioned once or twice that if universities are going to be the centres of hooliganism, it would be better to close them down. We can close them down and then consider how to reorganize their working. I am not saying that they should be closed down forever.

The entire question is extremely complicated and something has to be done about it. The whole system of education is dependent on the relations between the teacher and the taught and if they are not right, everything goes awry. If the teacher is useless, it is obvious that he cannot teach. A useless student on the contrary can be set right. So everything depends on the student-teacher relationship. Once that bond is broken, there is bound to be tension between them. Students will learn nothing in such a situation.

If students wish to learn something—obviously that is why you go to school—first of all, your minds must be razor-sharp and you should have the desire, the curiosity to learn. You will not learn anything by holding a book in front of you. Education is not a matter of merely passing examinations. There must be an inner urge to grasp, to understand, before you can learn science or any other subject that you may wish to study. You must have curiosity in order to understand the world around you and to go a step further, to dare to search for the hidden truths.

This is the time which you ought to utilize to study and learn new things, to prepare yourselves physically and mentally by meeting and comparing notes with other students. What is the meaning of wasting your time, as the students of the Allahabad University seem to be doing, in behaving like hooligans and forming separate groups, calling yourselves communists and socialists and congressmen? I want to tell you that all these words have become outdated and what you are trying to do is also outdated. You have become mentally backward.



Sensible people in the world do not keep shouting old slogans and cling on to outdated concepts and arguments.

I mentioned the Communist and the Socialist Parties. In fact I shall include the Congress party also in that. It is always difficult to change with the changing times. We get into a rut of old ideas. Some of my colleagues in the Congress whom I respect talk as though they are still in the 1920s or 30s forgetting that this is 1955. I find the same thing among the communists and socialists. I am merely trying to point out that their minds have got into such a rut that they have not grown. The same old theses, the same slogans and ideas are trotted out in long-winded debates and conferences which make neither head nor tail. But it has become a habit with them. At least the Congress does not come out with long theses. But the Congress has the responsibility of running the government. Whether it does so efficiently or not is a different matter. Undoubtedly, mistakes are made. But an individual or a party in a responsible position has some idea of reality. They cannot talk irresponsibly.

Our comrades in the Communist and Socialist Parties do not have any responsibilities on their hands. So they are wholly free to talk irresponsibly because they are not likely to be called upon to do anything. That makes a difference. You must not judge parties by their names and labels but ask how they are likely to handle responsibility. A person in a position of responsibility thinks twice before saying anything. The communist countries are responsible nations because the communist party is in power and has to do what it says. They cannot talk vaguely because if they do, they will get a bad name. So there is a world of difference between the communist party in countries where it is in power and others where it is not in power.

That is why I started telling you right at the beginning what we wish to do in India. As I said, you must not fall into the pitfall of isms and ideologies. That does not mean that you should not think about what communism, socialism and Gandhism stand for. But you cannot achieve any results by merely repeating lessons learnt by rote. It would be better to consider the concrete work that needs to be done.

We want the thirty-five or thirty-six crore people in India to have enough food to eat, and clothes to wear, houses to live in. They must have proper facilities for education, health care and job opportunities. I am not talking about principles but the realities to be achieved.

The difficulty is that there are so many parties in India. I am not boasting, though I feel that I have the right to boast a little about the Congress. A good opposition is essential to keep the government on its toes. Otherwise it tends to become slack and complacent. I am not afraid of opposition. But the opposition parties in India are extremely irresponsible because they have never had to handle responsibilities and nor do they have any hopes of being entrusted with any. They talk irresponsibly about long-winded theses and impossible plans

which can never be implemented. It is not very wise of our students who are even farther away from real responsibility to repeat such things. I can understand preoccupation with ideologies. But to join political parties without knowing the first thing about them and to jump into the arena is absurd. You will then be neither communist nor congressmen, nor can you be called students, but mere useless drifters.

I want you to give serious thought to this. If you learn something worthwhile in the few years that you spend in the university, it will come in useful later. If you waste your time in hooliganism, you will become notorious for the wrong reasons. Furthermore you would not have completed the task for which you are here, namely to prepare yourselves mentally and physically for the tasks of life. It is you who will suffer. I will be disappointed, of course, because I have great hopes of our youth. But if you waste your time now, you will be unfit for any great task which you will face later on in life. Unless you train and equip yourselves now, you cannot become good doctors, engineers, administrators or make a mark in any of the thousand other professions open to you.

What would you have learnt at the end of the three years? You may learn to make speeches or take out pamphlets, or even to beat up and abuse one another. How far will all these lessons take you later in life? I am amazed that you are not able to grasp something which is so plain. There are all kinds of countries in the world, communist, non-communist and socialist countries. I would like to know if you have heard of any other country in the world, whether it is England, France, America, Soviet Union, China, or Germany, where such things happen. Everywhere there is a race to run, on the part of people to equip themselves and to take their country forward. You are welcome to pursue your self-interest in the belief that that is in the national interest too. But this is neither self-interest nor anything else except wasting your time on petty affairs.

I hope that you will turn your face away from such petty politics and think of the real issues of the world. There must be a free flow of ideas. You must debate among yourselves but ultimately your aim should be to prepare yourselves for the future. It would be better if you are kept away from university politics and groupism and union elections. Nobody is terribly bothered about who captures the unions. If you choose to live like frogs in a well, the wider world will pass you by. I suppose the university has been peaceful at the moment since I have not heard reports to the contrary. Your Vice-Chancellor is a very able person.<sup>11</sup> So I hope the atmosphere will change now. I am saying this not only to the students but also to the professors and teachers. Ultimately the responsibility rests with everyone. A teacher must have the capacity to make

11. B.N. Jha was the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University.



an impact on his students and to make them think for themselves. Otherwise education will become mere learning by rote, of things heard in the lecture room. A teacher's role is deeper than that. His task is to influence the minds of the students entrusted to his care and mould their characters in every possible way. If that is lacking, the teacher is inadequate. I want the University in my home town to be good and that it should produce great men, capable of handling the reins of the country, as it did in the past, men with great reputation in every field, without having fought election here.

All right, the lesson is over. I shall go back to Delhi tomorrow. There I have to give lectures everyday and listen to endless speeches. That is what life is all about, learning something and teaching others. This is a special time of learning for you. But at no time in life should you stop learning or close your eyes, ears and minds to new knowledge. You must remain in a sense students all your lives. I think of myself as one even now. *Jai Hind*.

#### 4. Decisions through Peaceful Means<sup>1</sup>

Today we are assembled once again on the anniversary of India's independence. Greetings to everyone on this auspicious occasion. Do you remember that day when we reached this goal after a long journey and many ups and downs? Many people stumbled and fell, picked themselves up and moved on again. Do you remember the dreams we dreamt and the hopes that filled our hearts. Then came a day when those dreams and hopes were fulfilled and we saw the sun emerging on free India. Eight years have passed since that day when the whole of India went wild with joy. But in the moment of joy and triumph came tears too at the inhuman atrocities that took place on both sides of the border. Innumerable refugees trekked for hundreds of miles to cross the borders on both sides. We had to face this grave crisis. Well, we bore our troubles and tried to solve those problems quite successfully. We will undoubtedly solve the rest too. In this way, eight years have passed, with a great many ups and downs. Just think back to the condition we were in eight years ago and the way world saw us and the difference that has come about in the entire scene since then. Independent India is still in her infancy, though our nation is thousands of years old. But the world knows of our achievements and the capacity to advance that we have shown even in these few years.

1. Speech at the Red Fort, Delhi, 15 August 1955, AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

So when we meet here, we look back towards the past and the last eight years especially, as well as to the future. We must take stock of what we have done and what remains to be done. There is a tremendous amount that still has to be dealt with. We must pay special attention to our weaknesses, for it is only to the extent that we succeed in removing those weaknesses will the country advance and the people prosper. Turning towards the world, you will find that we have not raised our hand against any nation of the world and I hope that we shall never do so. We have looked upon everyone with friendly eyes and extended the hand of friendship and peace. There have been some complicated issues but that was no reason for us to be hostile to anyone. Ultimately, the policy of peace and friendship that we are following is the only right one for the world. We want to have friendly relations and cooperation with our neighbouring countries. You would have known about the strengthening of relations in the recent past. You must have heard about *Panch Shila* which lays down the norms of conduct between nations. Gradually all the newly independent countries have accepted these principles and the atmosphere in the world has changed for the better. I do not say that this is because of us—there have been other events in the world. So we must not be proud or boastful about it. It is sufficient if we can help in our own small way. But what makes us happy is that the atmosphere in the world is definitely better than before, the fear and anxiety with which nations used to regard one another have become less, and there is a readiness among them to extend the hand of friendship. So we are happy.

We are at peace with all the countries of the world. But on this day, the 15th of August, our thoughts turn towards Goa. When we were busy fighting for our freedom, could you or anyone in the world have thought that while India would become free, the small pockets of Goa or Pondicherry or any other place would remain under European rule? It was inconceivable and we did not even dream of such a thing. Pondicherry and Goa have been separated from us for the last two or three hundred years. They could flourish separately under the protection of the huge British empire in India just as the innumerable princely states existed with the blessings of the British. The moment the British left, all those princely states also had to go. So it is rather strange that anyone should ask us why we want Goa to merge with India. Where is the question of merging with India? Hasn't anyone seen the map of India and the world and where Goa is? It is a part of India and nobody can separate it. Today we are celebrating the eighth anniversary of our independence. As the world has seen, we have shown a great deal of patience in these eight years. We have exercised great self-control because we want that this issue should be solved peacefully. Let me tell you once again today that we have no intention of taking military action in Goa but will solve it by peaceful methods. Let no one be under a misconception that we are going to take military action. I am saying this because



people abroad as well as in India are sometimes misled. Rumours are being circulated abroad that we are amassing tanks and guns and our army there. It is all wrong. There are no forces near Goa. people within the country want to create a situation by making a great deal of noise whereby we will be forced to march in. We will not send in our forces and we will settle the matter peacefully. Let everyone understand this clearly. Those who are going into Goa are welcome to do so, but if they call themselves *satyagrahis*, let them remember the principles of *satyagraha*—and behave accordingly. Armies do not march behind *satyagrahis*. Nor is there a call for them. They are supposed to face the issue themselves in a completely different way.

We have seen recently that the *satyagrahis* were fired upon on a number of occasions and some young men died as a result.<sup>2</sup> Guns are fired in wars and that has to be faced. But the world must seriously consider how far it is proper or right for any nation to fire upon unarmed people. If a law is broken, the government has the right to arrest the culprits and put them in jails. But nowhere in international law or any law governing civilized behaviour is it written that unarmed people who are not mounting any kind of an attack should be fired upon. It is absolutely wrong. I would like to point out very politely that the world and the Portuguese Government must understand quite clearly that they must not indulge in such uncivilized behaviour. There is a conflict between us but whatever their views may be, we wish to solve the problem peacefully and will undoubtedly do so, no matter how long it takes. Please bear in mind that it is wrong to think that such issues can be resolved by magic immediately. If we wish to arrive at a proper solution, being in a hurry will not help. We must wait because anything which is done slowly and with patience is likely to be more firm and abiding.

I mentioned *Panch Shila* and drew your attention to the changing atmosphere in the world. Take the internal situation, for ultimately, our stature in the world depends on what we do in our own country. We shall not gain in stature by shouting slogans or talking irresponsibly. We are judged by what we are doing in the country. I feel that we have achieved a great deal in the last eight years and have laid the foundation of the edifice of new India and now the time has come to build on it. The foundations are strong and will become stronger still. The First Five Year Plan will come to an end soon and the Second will start in a few months. We must prepare ourselves for it by tightening our belts and must be ready for any hardship because we are building a nation not merely for the present but for the future and all the coming generations. It has to be a strong nation and built with hard labour.

2. On 3 August, B.K. Thorat of Jalna and N. Saha of West Bengal were shot at by the Portuguese police while trying to cross into Goa. Thorat was killed on the spot and Saha died the next day.

I talked about *Panch Shila* in the context of international relations. In the olden days this word was used in a different sense. It meant discipline and self-control, good behaviour towards others and so on. How can we have a high stature in the world if we are weak internally? How can we talk about peace elsewhere if there is no peace in our hearts? If we cannot cooperate with one another, how can we advise others? Therefore, it is even more important for us to remove our weaknesses.

This wonderful country of ours, India, has so many facets and forms, so many religions, and shades of opinions, so many regions and provinces. All of them together have gone into the making of modern India. We are one large family and there should be no barriers of province and religion and caste among us. We must break down any barriers that exist. We must remove casteism, for it is responsible for our living in separate compartments. It has weakened India, a great deal in the past. So while we must preserve India's wonderful diversity, we must at the same time remember that we belong to one family and have to march together towards the new goal that is before us.

Secondly, whatever we do, it must be done by peaceful methods. I want to remind you of this particularly because we talk of peace but often raise our hands in violence against one another. What is the meaning of such things? Just two days ago an incident occurred in the city of Patna.<sup>3</sup> Why are we so ready to do violence? Why is it that our students get so easily involved in such things? Do they lack patience and understanding? Don't they know that they are citizens of independent India? Have they failed to breathe in the air of freedom and are still thinking on the old lines? Those times are gone now. If there is tension among workers or anyone else, and especially if the students come into conflict with their teachers and indulge in violence, they earn a bad name for themselves as well as for the country, instead of preparing themselves for the responsibilities that the future will bring. I plead with all of you, especially our youth, to realize your responsibilities and understand the spirit of modern age. The whole world has taken a new turn. This is the age of the atom and atomic energy. We have to change our thinking and get out of the old rut of petty feuds and quarrels. I want the people of India to understand these things and take advantage of the new forces being generated in the world. Therefore, it becomes necessary for us to solve all our problems by peaceful methods.

Another complex problem is about to come up in the country. As you may

3. A minor altercation between the students of the B.N. College, Patna and the Rajya Transport Employees on 12 August 1955 led to police firing on the students on 12 and 13 August 1955. On the 15 August 1955, the Independence Day celebrations were marred by desecration of the National Flag, students-police clashes and black flag demonstrations in Chhapra, Biharsharif, Daltenganj, and Nawada. S.K. Das, Chief Justice of Patna High Court, was asked to enquire into the incidents.



remember, some time ago a commission was appointed called the States Reorganization Commission.<sup>4</sup> It will make recommendations for reorganizing the boundaries of the various provinces. We selected three eminent people to study this question in depth and make their recommendations. They have been working on it for the last year and a half. I think they will present their report within the next two months. I do not know what their recommendations will be. I cannot express an opinion. But what I want to say is that in spite of the great heat that is bound to be generated over this issue from the Punjab to the south and from east to west, we must take a decision on the recommendations of the Commission peacefully. Whoever creates a stir over it will not be a well-wisher of the country. For after all it is only a question of separate provinces, not separate countries. These divisions have been made for our administrative convenience. No decision will be acceptable to everyone. But an effort will be made—and I hope that the Commission is already making such an effort—to recommend whatever will be acceptable to the majority. Whatever happens, we must accept it peacefully after due consideration. There should be no quarrel over this issue. We must show the world how we solve our problems peacefully, and with confidence in ourselves. That is the real sign of strength, not shouting slogans and making a noise. That is childishness. Though independent India is only eight years old, our country is an ancient one. It is a grand country which speaks with a serious voice. It is not our practice to shout or rant and rave. This is not the time for such things. We have to add to our strength, always act peacefully and with patience, extend the hand of friendship towards other countries and behave in a civilized way. Whatever problems arise, they must be solved peacefully and harmoniously.

I talked to you about *Panch Shila*. There are two aspects to it. One concerns international relations, of friendship, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, equality and mutual cooperation. The second aspect of *Panch Shila* concerns us internally, it consists of right conduct, alertness, self-control, unity and harmony, through these we can build, strengthen the large family of the people of India. This is a very old lesson taught to us thousands of years ago and is before us once again. Please bear in mind that unless we teach ourselves this lesson, we have no right to preach it to others. It would be arrogance to presume to teach others. If we learn the lesson well and put it into practice, we can show the others by example. Therefore, while it is proper that we should celebrate the eighth anniversary of India's freedom and take stock of our achievements in the last eight years, in reality we must concentrate our attention on the tasks that are waiting to be done. We have reached one goal and now we have to travel towards another, and that journey should also be peaceful.

4. The States Reorganization Commission was appointed on 29 December 1953, comprising of S. Fazl Ali, H.N. Kunzru and K.M. Panikkar.

Let us pay homage to the thousands of people by whose toil and sacrifice and martyrdom, India became free. Let us hear once again the ancient voice of India, and at the same time pay heed to the new voice of the modern age too. The voice of our ancestors is ringing in our ears.

A year from now we shall be celebrating a great event in this country and the world. Next year it will be 2500 years since the death of Gautama Buddha, one of the greatest souls of India. This anniversary will be celebrated all over the world. On this occasion we must remember once again the principles and ideals that this great Indian gave to this country. We must also remember the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who lived and toiled in our own lifetime. India owes her present greatness to him and the path shown by him. If we follow those principles our steps will be firm and we shall be stout-hearted and straightforward. Let us think about all this and march ahead. *Jai Hind*. Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

## 5. Peaceful Path to Progress<sup>1</sup>

I thank you for the warm welcome you have extended to me. But it is not right that you should greet me as if I were a foreigner. I am not a stranger to this beautiful State of yours. You must regard me as one of you. There was no need to present me with *manapatras*.

The *manapatras* which were read out just now refer to my recent tour abroad, of several countries of the world. They also mention that the atmosphere in the world has improved vastly. The erstwhile enemies have drawn a little closer to one another and are prepared to speak to each other although even now there is talk of war. World opinion generally seems to have veered round to the point of view that war solves no problem. This is a great step. There has been a gentle turning around helped by various factors perhaps the most important thing is that people are beginning to realize that nuclear weapons can destroy the world.

People have begun to understand that war can do no good if it leads to total destruction. So the great world leaders and statesmen are veering round to the view that international problems must be solved by mutual discussions. You may feel that India has played a major role in this. But we must not make

1. Speech at a public meeting, Guwahati, 27 August 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.



exaggerated claims. It is true that our efforts have helped. But several nations are working towards this end and the outcome has been good. Therefore, we must not boast or claim credit for the whole thing. All we can say is that India's foreign policy has helped a little. But you must not be under the illusion that all the problems have been solved. There is a great deal of tension and difficulties. Innumerable issues remain unresolved in Europe, Asia, Africa and elsewhere, and unless there is constant vigilance, nobody knows where any one of them will lead to conflict.

It is but right that India should take a keen interest in world affairs because the world has shrunk and the countries of the world have drawn closer. Something that happens far away has repercussions on us. Similarly what we do affects other countries.

You know how fast travelling has become. I left Delhi this morning and reached Guwahati by 12'0 clock. I could have done it in half the time in a faster plane. You can travel to the other side of the world in a day. We must understand that nobody can remain in isolation any more. Therefore, it is proper that we should pay attention to world problems. But, above all, we have to concentrate our attention on our internal problems and try to alleviate the suffering of the people. If we are weak as a nation, nobody will respect us. Who can respect us if we fight with one another constantly?

Why is India held in respect in the world today? There are several reasons. For one thing, Mahatma Gandhi is famous throughout the world as the great man who led India to freedom. He taught us many things, to work hard, to remain united and to think of India as one country irrespective of castes and religions. He infused strength into a weak nation and taught us to break down the barriers of province, language, caste and religion. Anything that separates and weakens us will lead to our downfall. History teaches us that whenever India was weak internally and disunited, it fell a prey to foreign invasions. On the other hand, we become a great organized force whenever we are united. These are some of the things that Gandhiji taught us and as we grew in strength, we succeeded in wresting freedom for India. The whole world knows this.

Eight years have gone by since India became independent. These have been difficult years, fraught with insurmountable problems. But we did not allow ourselves to be overcome by them. We faced the problems squarely and so we have made progress. This has also made an impression upon the world, for people realize that the Indian people do not run away from difficulties but are capable of working hard to overcome them.

Your province of Assam has had to face grave problems. There was a great earthquake here.<sup>2</sup> Every year there are great floods in the Brahmaputra.

2. The earthquake on 15 August 1950 caused heavy loss of life and widespread damage, specially in upper Assam.

But you have not allowed yourselves to be subdued by them, you have faced them together and tried to find solutions. After all, giving in to panic or moaning cannot help.

Turning to the situation in the country, you must have heard about the Five Year Plans. They are working well. We have more or less achieved the targets that we had set for ourselves. There was a great shortage of food in the country.<sup>3</sup> But now food production has gone up tremendously.<sup>4</sup> Then there are floods and droughts. But we now produce enough to weather any crisis. There are no food shortages. This is a great achievement. Even up to three years ago, we had to import foodgrains from other countries which was a great drain on our foreign exchange reserves. We have scored a great victory by bringing the food problem under control.

Secondly, we have set up a number of industries all over the country. A fertilizer factory is coming up in Sindri. We are building railway engines and carriages, steamships, aeroplanes, etc. We are trying to build the infrastructure for future progress. So long as we are dependent on others for essential goods, we will remain open to pressures. We must learn to produce what we need in the country. For one thing, if we are self-reliant, we will not be subjected to outside pressure. Two, our wealth is not drained away. The new wealth that is generated reaches the people and improves their standard of living. New industries generate more employment. The greatest problem that we face in India today is of unemployment in the rural as well as the urban areas. So many of our youth who graduate from schools and colleges fail to get jobs. Naturally we must take care of the problems. Once we start producing essential goods in the country, automatically there will be more jobs. We have achieved many of the targets set out under the Five Year Plan. Our self-confidence has grown because we have managed to complete what we took up and fulfilled our pledge. It has led to greater respect for India in the world.

We have not yet managed to get rid of poverty and unemployment in the country. One Five Year Plan is not enough for that in a country of millions of human beings. We shall all have to work extremely hard. The Second Plan will begin next year, and then will follow the third and the fourth. Gradually, India's economy will be strengthened and the standard of living of the people will improve. They will get jobs and earn more. We want that the wealth produced in the country must be distributed among the people and not remain in the hands of a few rich men.

As you know, our goal is to establish a socialist pattern of society in India

3. In 1951-52 the total production of foodgrains in the country was 51.17 million tons. Average annual production in the last few years had been about 40 million tons.

4. In 1954-55, the total foodgrains production in the country was 66.60 million tons.



in order to ensure that there are equal opportunities for all and no great disparity between the haves and the have-nots. It is not possible for everyone to be exactly equal because some people are naturally more intelligent or physically stronger than the others. But natural differences apart, everyone should get equal opportunities so that each one can go as far his ability permits. Everyone in the country must get the basic necessities of life like food, clothing, houses to live in, health care, education and means of livelihood. After that, each individual can go as far as he can according to his ability. But there must be equal opportunities for all. This is the kind of society that we want to build.

However, this is not something that can be done by passing a law from Delhi or in the state. We cannot alleviate the hardships of the people by passing laws or counting beads. What is needed is hard work and mutual cooperation. The effort of a few individuals cannot go very far. When a large number of people take up a task together, it becomes a source of great strength. So what is needed is hard work in the right direction.

The Five Year Plans are aimed at having the right priorities before us in order to improve the standard of living of the people and to generate new wealth in the country. In one sense, India is not a poor country because we are rich in raw materials and mineral resources. The people are hard-working too. But they are poor. So what it means is that, if we go about it the right way and utilize the rich untapped resources and the manpower available, we can produce enough wealth in the country to get rid of our poverty.

I do not want to go into the details about the Five Year Plans. But I would like to say this much. Planning does not mean putting up industries here and there though that is also part of it. Planning involves an overall perspective and the right order or priorities to lay the foundations for the future.

In the First Five Year Plan we laid stress on increasing food production and paid attention to river valley schemes for irrigation. Electricity is also being generated from these schemes. Electricity is a great source of strength. The more we produce of it, the greater will be our capacity to progress.

You will find that in the last two hundred years or so, the West progressed rapidly while we lagged behind. Before that Asia had been far more advanced than the West. Why did we slip back? The West acquired great sources of energy, like steam and electricity, which contributed to its progress. After all, steam is something which all of us have seen. Yet when it is harnessed, it become a great source of energy which is used to propel railway engines and other machines. Similarly, electricity is also nothing new. Everyone has seen lightning in the sky. But when its potential was realized and it began to be produced, it became a great source of energy, used in innumerable ways. Electric lights and fans are small things. The real use for electricity is in industries. The West advanced because it acquired new sources of energy which we did not

do. It is essential that we too should produce electricity—either by harvesting hydroelectric sources or by other means, like burning coal. We need a great deal of coal too.

Planning involves taking all these things into account, including generation of power. It can be used to set up industries which will generate more employment and new wealth in the country. Industries are of various kinds, big, medium and small. There are textile mills which can be set up by importing the machines. Well, it may be a good thing. But it does not do much good. If we import machines, we become dependent on others even for small repairs and spare parts. We want to set up machine-building industries so that we can set up other industries easily. There are two kinds of industries—the mother industries or key industries, and their offshoots, auxilliary industries. So far our attention has been more on the auxilliary industries, because it is easy to import machines from abroad. But they do not help the country to achieve real progress. Real progress depends on building basic industries, the heavy industries which produce essential goods for setting up other industries. Then we shall not have to import machines from other countries.

In the Second Plan we are laying greater stress on heavy industries.<sup>5</sup> Now, all industries need steel. We produce some steel in India in Jamshedpur, about twelve lakh tonnes or so annually, which is not enough for a country on the forward march like India. We need to produce four or five times as much. So we are setting up three huge steel plants in the public sector.<sup>6</sup> The profits will benefit the people directly.

I am giving you an example of the various ways in which we are trying to build the infrastructure for future progress. Now, the difficulty that arises in this is that when we set up basic industries, there is no benefit in the initial stages. It is only when they go into production that people begin to reap the benefits. For four or five years, when the plants are being built, there is nothing but expenditure without any visible benefits. We will have to tighten our belts in order to set up these heavy industries for there can be no progress at all without them. We could content ourselves with setting up small industries. But we want India to become a great nation and the people to enjoy prosperity and plenty like the people of the West.

Therefore, it is extremely important to lay the firm foundations of heavy industries. At the same time, we must expand the village industries too by every possible means. Please do not think that village industries must be run in irregular methods. We want that electricity and small machines should be used

5. Rs. 691 crores was provided for large-scale industries in the Second Plan as against Rs. 149 crores in the First Plan.

6. See *ante*, p. 37.



to make them more productive. What I mean is that, apart from heavy industries, we want that in every village there should be small industries to produce essential goods for the rural areas. We want to expand both these sectors, the heavy industries as well as village industries.

You may have heard about the new projects called the Community Projects and the National Extension Service which were started three years ago, specially for the rural areas. They are benefiting the villages tremendously and making rural people self-reliant. People are learning to uplift the villages and improve their living conditions by building schools, wells and roads, etc., themselves. A government fiat cannot accomplish these things. Our rural areas had fallen on evil days during British rule. Huge cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and others came up. But if you went outside Calcutta to the villages of West Bengal or the outskirts of Bombay, you found them terribly impoverished. Wealth was drained away from the rural areas to feed the cities. Therefore, it is our duty to uplift the people in the rural areas. The important thing is to generate employment in the countryside because otherwise everyone tends to flock to the cities in search of jobs.

Now we can achieve our goals only when there is full cooperation between government officials and the people. The government cannot accomplish this great task on its own, nor can the people by themselves. But when the efforts of the government and the people are combined, the task of uplifting thirty-six crores of people becomes feasible. There must be unity and cooperation among the people. In India people often tend to fight over petty issues forgetting that the eyes of the world are upon them. There are strikes and outbursts of violence over trivial issues. The youth in particular have made this a profession and small matters are blown out of proportion.

There are two courses open to us. One is of mutual cooperation and hard work. The other is to fritter away our energies on useless and futile squabbles. It is obvious that we can choose only the first course. Everyone knows that. But very often petty issues take precedence over larger national ones. I want to draw the attention of the students in particular to this. After all, what makes a nation? On paper, statistics show that the population of India is thirty-six crores consisting of the followers of various religions—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Buddhists—living together. But the population was large even in the times of British rule. They lived a life of bondage. Therefore, mere numbers do not count. The important thing is the quality and calibre of the people, whether they are capable of hard work or whether they are lazy and quarrelsome.

The West has advanced because the people are hard working. They also know how to play, and yet they work hard at the appropriate time. Sometimes they indulge in great stupidity too. It is true that two World Wars have been fought by them. But you will never hear of petty quarrels in Europe. The wars

that have been fought were between great powers. Otherwise there is peace. The behaviour of a free and independent nation is always different. It is not the way of constant friction and tensions as in the days of British rule. With the coming of independence, our responsibilities have increased. If we continue with our old ways, we shall be neither here nor there but fall between two stools. In a free, democratic country tremendous responsibility rests with the people and if they fail to shoulder it, freedom slips away. Freedom is won through great effort. Constant vigilance and hard work are required to safeguard it. The moment there is the slightest slackness or a show of weakness, freedom can slip away. There are great sharks in the world today waiting to swallow the weak. Therefore, we must be extremely vigilant, strong and united. We must not get carried away.

Now, take the issue of Goa. Goa is a part of India and will always remain so. We do not wish that a colonial power should rule over any part of Indian territory. The people of Goa are free to decide what they want. But we cannot allow any foreign power to control it. That would be a negation of what we have struggled against for years—colonialism and imperialism.

India's history dates back to thousands of years. There were often foreign invasions and India was ruled by outsiders for long periods of time. But the important thing is that India's capital, the centre of its governance remained within the country. The foreign invaders soon settled down and, in a couple of generations, were absorbed in India's melting pot. India was never subjected to control from some other country. For the first time in the history of India, when the British conquered the country, its destinies were controlled from London. The Governor-General or the Viceroy in Delhi was merely an agent of the British Government.

This is in essence what is known as colonialism, of one country ruling over an empire from a long distance. Similarly, the French had come and carved out an empire. But soon the British ousted them except from a small pocket in Pondicherry. The Portuguese came and conquered parts of Indian territory because we had become weak as a naval power. They had a very strong navy equipped with guns and cannons, and so they captured Goa. They could not advance very far beyond that. But they held on to what they captured. They entered into an agreement with the British who, in their own self-interest, allowed them to remain in Goa.

There is no doubt about it that Goa is being ruled from Lisbon, 5000 miles away. I do not wish to go into the question of whether the government is good or bad. In my opinion, it is terrible. Goa is ruled from outside. Now we cannot accept this situation to exist on principle anywhere in the world and particularly in a corner of India. I have no doubt about it that the Portuguese will have to leave Goa. They cannot stay on.

As you know there has been satyagraha in Goa. The people have every



right to organise here. The most recent was on the 15th of August. It was marked by a display of remarkable courage, particularly on the part of an Indian woman called Subhadra Sagar.<sup>7</sup> Satyagraha was given to us by Mahatma Gandhi. It has to be backed by a certain emotion, a certain discipline, to make an impact. Satyagraha cannot be combined with armed action. We cannot go armed with guns and call it satyagraha. That becomes something else. It is neither satyagraha in the real sense, nor a legitimate use of weapons.

Therefore, we must be clear in our minds about what we want to do. I shall not go into that just now. What I am trying to point out is that the satyagraha did not have the desired effect, except that sacrifices always make an impact, so do bravery and courage. A statement will be issued by the Government. We are fully aware of all aspects of the problem. The Congress will also put forth its viewpoint separately. All this will come before you for consideration.

First of all, a major issue cannot be resolved in anger or despair. Therefore, we have deliberately said that we will consider the matter calmly and follow the right path. What is the problem? Everyone knows that we have the armed strength to take Goa by force. There is no difficulty about that. But if we do, we would falsify our position before the world. It is completely opposed to the direction in which the whole world is headed now, namely that wars do not solve any problems. If we, who have advocated peaceful methods to the whole world now resort to force who will respect us?

If we have the armed might to conquer Goa, other countries have bigger armies. Therefore, we have said quite clearly that we do not wish to take Goa by force. We have no doubt that we can do it. But even if it takes time it is better to solve the problem by following the straight and narrow path instead of doing the wrong thing in haste. It will destroy everything that we have stood for years and we will earn a bad name for ourselves.

Anyhow, the satyagraha in Goa and the subsequent death of our *satyagrahis* have grieved us deeply. But the way to express that grief is not rioting, throwing stones and surrounding foreign embassies shouting slogans and demanding that their flags be lowered. All these actions have nullified the action of the *satyagrahis* in the eyes of the world. The impression that everyone has got of us is of a people who talk of satyagraha and what not but cannot even live peacefully together. The whole purpose behind the satyagraha was to coerce the Government of India to march the army into Goa. So it was directed less against the Portuguese. The entire complexion of the affair changed. There

7. Subhadrabai Sagar was one of the thirty *satyagrahis* who were shot at by the Portuguese police while trying to enter Goa at various points at Goa and Daman border on 15 August 1955. She snatched the Flag from V.D. Chitale, the leader of the group, when he was wounded and marched on.

were riots in Calcutta and Bombay<sup>8</sup> and we earned a bad name in the world. I had to apologize to the other countries for what happened here. The picture that emerged before the world of India was one of weakness. No strong nation indulges in throwing stones and behaving like hooligans. Any fool can do that. It does not need brains or strength or courage. Here we wanted to show to the world that we were an organized, united people engaged in the task of nation-building, and suddenly the curtain was pulled aside to reveal a nation of hooligans without any discipline whatsoever. It earned us a very bad reputation. Satyagraha went into the background and hooliganism was given full rein. You can imagine how dangerous the whole thing is.

Then there were the incidents in Bihar over the students affair. I do not wish to go into the details. The Chief Justice of the High Court has been appointed to go into the whole thing.<sup>9</sup> But I want to point out that it is a dangerous tendency for students to indulge in throwing stones and brickbats, breaking things, etc., aided and abetted by the local goondas and hooligans. We earn a very bad reputation in the world. If students who will have to shoulder the burden of the country in the future behave in this manner, how can they discharge their duties? I am amazed to see what is happening to students.

Sometimes mistakes are made in the heat of the moment. We are ordinary mortals, not angels. But why should an incident in Patna set off a conflagration all over Bihar, with trains being burnt and attacks on the police and railway officials and what not? The whole thing started with a small incident on a bus. Our students, particularly in Bihar, consider it beneath their dignity to buy tickets on buses or trains. What kind of a country are we building? The poor railway officials were doing their work. The students stooped so low as to show disrespect to the National Flag. There can be nothing worse than that in my opinion. I am prepared to excuse everything but this.

Is it some kind of a joke? After all, who are these students? They are our own children whom we love and want that they should come up. We do not think of them as our enemies. They are our own children, which is why it grieves us even more deeply when they behave so badly. During the thirty or forty years of our freedom struggle, our people had been gradually trained to behave in a disciplined manner and to brave police atrocities and even bullets

8. The Tricolour was hoisted on the Portuguese consulate in Calcutta on 16 August 1955 by a group of students who formed the vanguard of a 3,000 strong procession that was taken out in protest against the killing by the Portuguese authorities of Indian *satyagrahis*. All rail communication came to a halt. In the Mumbai city, demonstrators, attempting to enforce a *hartal* in the memory of the Goa martyrs clashed with the police leading to twenty-six stone throwing incidents, and police firing at three places on 16 August 1955.

9. See *ante*, p. 47.



without flinching. We emerged a stronger nation. Now when there is no foreign power to fight against, what is the meaning of such behaviour?

Let me tell you the suspicion that arises in my mind. I feel that students are very often completely thoughtless and are easily carried away except in some cases. Some people and parties are always ready to exploit them. They do not have the students' interest at heart but are out only to make political capital out of these things. The fact is that our foreign policy has been extremely successful and earned great praise in other countries. So the other political parties cannot find fault with that. As far as our internal situation is concerned, though we have made many mistakes, everyone knows that we are making progress. It is true that the pace ought to be accelerated. But, on the whole, even where our internal policies are concerned, there is not too much scope for criticism. So they are in search of something to make a noise about and malign the Government. They are able to mislead the students very easily. Students think that they are being very brave by throwing stones. I would like to point out that it is a sign not of bravery but of cowardice. It is a very serious matter because it is threatening the entire fabric of the new India that we have been building during the last eight years. I want you to think about this.

I have come to Assam for three days.<sup>10</sup> I am always keen to visit this beautiful State of yours. It is a border province and a tribal area. So all kinds of problems arise. The people who are in authority are under great pressure. So I want to come here often to talk to them and discuss their problems. That is one reason. Secondly, you have had floods again and the Brahmaputra is in spate like last year. But it is a very good thing that the work done by the engineers last year has not been washed away, but has successfully withstood the ravages of the flood waters.

Well, we must keep up the good work. But you must bear in mind how the various provinces in the foothills of the Himalayas like Assam, some parts of Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Kashmir up in the north have been formed by the geographical changes over millions of years. The floods from the Himalayas year after year have been responsible for the formation of these provinces. So it is a relationship between the Himalayas and these provinces dating back to millions of years. It has brought good as well as evil. Floods have two aspects, the beneficial and the adverse. In their full fury floods cause damage. But they leave behind something valuable too. This is what we must appreciate. Whenever there are floods, there is an uproar. The newspapers are full of it, engineers rush here and there, and the state government gets agitated. But, floods are nothing new. There have always been floods. During the British rule, no noise was made about floods. They used to be taken for granted and put up with as nature's normal behaviour. I am trying to

10. Nehru undertook a tour of Assam from 27 to 29 August 1955.

show you the difference in the attitude of the people then and now. Whereas floods were ignored by the government, now the officials at the centre and the state bestir themselves to provide assistance to the people. That is how it should be. At the same time, this shows you how much the duties and responsibilities of the Government have increased. The British Government did not consider it their duty to spend money on flood relief. Things used to settle down after a while and those who were washed away were written off. The same attitude was adopted in times of famines too.

Now we cannot tolerate any deaths due to famine. We have to make all possible arrangements for flood relief. But I want you to remember that the bond between the provinces and the Himalayas cannot be broken. Therefore, the situation has to be faced in varying degrees. It is wrong to get into a panic every year over floods. We must make arrangements to minimize the damage that occurs. But we cannot stop the rains. Moreover the floods do some good too. Sometimes when there are heavy rains in Bhutan or Tibet, we have to suffer the consequences. Earlier we used to be taken completely by surprise. This year for the first time, we had flood warnings from Bhutan and Tibet, and I hope that the system of information sharing will be strengthened further. Then we will be able to take some precautions.

In short, we must not be disheartened by natural events like floods. We must understand that these are phenomena which date back to millions of years and do good as well as some damage. Yes, now we have the resource to control the situation to some extent, which we are doing. With greater cooperation, we can succeed even more. But there is no cause for panic. We must concentrate all our strength and energy on the task of progress and particularly on eradicating poverty from the country. A strong economy is the only solution to our problems. Poverty can be eradicated only through mutual cooperation.

As I said, there are many problems which the State of Assam faces. The population is a mixed one, with a large percentage of tribals. This has advantages as well as disadvantages. There can be advantages in a heterogeneous population if there is mutual cooperation. Then there will be progress. But if there is disunity and people live in separate compartments, it is obvious that it will cause great harm. You have the opportunity of living in mutual harmony. The people of the plains must not think of themselves as superior and look down upon the mountain folk and the tribals. That is extremely improper. I have often visited the tribal areas and have great respect for them. It is true that any wrong-doing on their part will not be accepted. For instance, any move for secession on their part would be wrong. That is a different matter. We must always bear in mind that we must treat all our people as equals. It is our duty. It is most improper to look down upon anyone.

We must learn to consider all our problems in the larger national context because Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and all the other provinces can progress



only if India progresses. That is why all our planning aims at an all-round development in the country. I want you to think about all these things. I hope that you will continue to face the problems and difficulties in the future also without giving in to panic. *Jai Hind*. Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

## 6. Brahmaputra Floods and their Lesson<sup>1</sup>

Sisters and brothers,

You may remember that I came here exactly a year ago when the Brahmaputra was in full spate and was devouring the city.<sup>2</sup> Huge trees had fallen and innumerable houses including the Circuit House disappeared in front of my eyes. It was a terrible sight. We had tried to build a stone wall but even that disappeared. But we did not panic. This year also, we should not give in to panic. There is no place in this world for those who panic. Those who are bold and prepared to help themselves can weather any crisis.

There has been a great deal of thinking on how to save Dibrugarh and the nearby areas. Work began last November and gathered momentum in January. You have seen with your own eyes the result of all that work. The flood levels this year were higher than last year.<sup>3</sup> We used to get reports in Delhi. The higher the water level rises, the greater the danger. But the work done by our engineers proved enduring and succeeded in stemming the fury of the Brahmaputra this time. In spite of the fact that the water rose to a higher level this year, it did not do any damage to Dibrugarh.

This is no small achievement, particularly since it was done in such a short time, within six or seven months. Huge boulders were thrown into the river and held in place by steel wires. It was a problem even to find the stones here. They had to be transported over two or three hundred miles. Five train-loads were carried every day. Stone spurs were then constructed and everything was completed before the fifteenth of June. And Dibrugarh was saved this year from the onslaught of the Brahmaputra.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Dibrugarh, 29 August 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.
2. Around the third week of August 1954, extensive damage was caused throughout Assam by high floods in the Brahmaputra. Nehru was in Dibrugarh on 5 and 6 September 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 115-118.
3. The river level at Dibrugarh by August 1955 had risen 1.09 feet above the highest level reached during floods in 1954.

This was a big step. But the important thing is the lesson that we have learnt from this experience. People from all walks of life cooperated fully in the effort. It was, of course, the responsibility of the Assam Government and of the Central Government. The Central Ministry of Irrigation and Power played an important role. The railways were responsible for transporting five train-loads of stones every day. The armed forces helped a great deal too, so did the Department of Science and Natural Resources by supplying aerial photographs. Big tasks need the cooperation of many departments, and pooling of resources, knowledge and experience. I want you to understand the importance of co-operation for big projects like this.

I referred to the role of the armed forces. The students of Dibrugarh and the nearby areas and others also helped a great deal. Then we also got some help from outside. For the first time this year, we got information from Tibet, where the Brahmaputra originates, about the floods. Earlier we used to be absolutely in the dark. Some rivers flow into India from Tibet and others from Bhutan. But we knew nothing till the floods were actually upon us without warning.

So this year we requested Bhutan and the Chinese Government to keep us informed which they did for the first time. For the last few months we have been getting reports from three different sources about the level of the Brahmaputra waters and the likelihood of floods. But the truth is that the waters of the Brahmaputra which flow into India are not from Tibet or China but from our own mountains in the North Eastern Frontier Agency.

Whatever it is, we have succeeded because of the cooperation among the Government of Assam and the Central Government, various ministries, engineers, scientists, students and other volunteer workers, coupled with the information received from Tibet and China. It is true that the greatest responsibility rested with our engineers who must be congratulated on completing this task successfully. But the people who should be congratulated even more are the citizens and volunteers who worked to complete this task.

What is the lesson to be learnt from this? There are great tasks waiting to be done. They can be taken up successfully only by cooperation between the Government and the people and pooling of resources and energies of the entire nation. No big step can ever be taken by the Government or the people alone. It requires the cooperation of all concerned.

So we have before us the picture of a great task completed successfully. Some work remains to be done. But it has been demonstrated quite clearly that we can fight the floods and save Dibrugarh. After six months of hard work, we are fully confident that we can safeguard Dibrugarh and the adjoining areas fully from the onslaught of the Brahmaputra. Please sit down. It is hot and you are in great discomfort. I am in the shade. It would have been better to have held the meeting in the evening.



In the one year since I was here last, I have wandered a great deal in the world. After my visit to Assam, I went to China. China is a great country where a revolution occurred a few years ago. Then I went to Indo-China and Indonesia. Just recently, I had gone to the Soviet Union. It is a huge country, several times the size of India. From there I visited other countries of Europe. You may have seen the film on my visit to the Soviet Union and the warm welcome accorded to me wherever I went. What was the reason for that? I feel that it is a mark of the respect in which they hold India. The world wants peace and respects India for its efforts towards maintaining peace. India has become famous in the world as a peace-loving nation. We fought for and won freedom by peaceful methods. But when I come back to India I find great tensions and hooliganism, lack of unity and constant obstacles to all work. That is why I reminded you right in the beginning that great achievements are possible only through cooperation and unity, as we saw here in Dibrugarh.

It is by organised effort that we won freedom. The next great task before us is to remove poverty, to raise the standard of living and to close the gap between the haves and the have-nots. This is a gigantic task which cannot be done by a handful of people. It is something which concerns thirty-six crore men, women and children. How is it to be done? India is a poor country with meagre resources. How did the countries of the West become so affluent? How do they manage to have such a high standard of living and provide employment to everyone?

I have no doubt about it that we can also do it and quite quickly too if everyone cooperates. You must have heard about the Five Year Plans which we are implementing for the past four or five years to strengthen the economic condition of the country. About four years ago, we faced a grave food shortage.<sup>4</sup> Now there is no shortage. In spite of heavy floods and the damage caused by them, we were able to cope. That is because we made a tremendous effort to increase food production and have succeeded beyond our wildest dreams. We will keep up our efforts.

Then there are other things happening all over the country. We are preparing for the Second Five Year Plan, which will begin next year. Our emphasis will be more on industries because we want that India should become self-reliant in these areas and produce machines and other things which we import now. Industries will provide employment to the people and our wealth will remain in the country and more wealth will be produced. We cannot get wealth from outside in order to remove poverty from the country. A nation cannot grow in stature by going about with a begging bowl. We have to produce new wealth in order to strengthen the economy.

4. See *ante*, p. 51.

So the most urgent priority is to produce wealth. What is wealth? It is not gold, silver or currency notes. Those are tools of trade. Real wealth is what is produced by the efforts of the people from land and from industries. A money-lender does not produce new wealth. He merely transfers money from one pocket to another. Consumer goods like foodgrains, clothing, etc., or articles made by artisans are all new wealth. The more a country produces, the wealthier it becomes and the standard of living of the people becomes better.

Therefore, we have to do two things in order to remove poverty. Both of them are in fact parts of the same thing. We have to increase production and provide employment to more people. When people have gainful employment they will produce new wealth. This is broadly the most urgent task before us. Great pundits and economists argue about it endlessly. But the matter in a nutshell is that people need employment and the goods that they produce add to the wealth of the nation.

The question is how to go about this. If we leave it to individuals to do what they want, they may be able to achieve something. But a great deal of energy and resources are wasted in the process.... So I was telling you what we have to do to remove poverty from the country. How have the nations of the West managed to do it? That is a long story. They have succeeded after two or three hundred years of hard work and struggle and by taking advantage of new scientific techniques, inventions and machines.

India with all its glorious past, slid into a mire of poverty because we were not forward-looking. We lost our freedom to the British because we had become weak. The world marched ahead while we remained where we were—cut off from the outside world. We were steeped in conceit about our own superiority. The world advanced in science and technology and new sources of energy were discovered and harnessed. New machines were invented and huge big industries came up. New and faster modes of transport like the railways, steamships, etc., were invented. But India remained stagnant and weak.

There were two reasons for our backwardness which led to our downfall. The first is disunity, which has always been the bane of India. Secondly, we had cut ourselves off from the outside world. So we were blissfully unaware of the progress that the rest of the world was making. We had erected great barriers among ourselves and the people of each province lived in isolation with no thought about the rest of the country. Whichever foreign invaders came, they found it extremely easy to grab hold of different parts of the country. This is how India was led to her downfall. None of the different parts of the country ever helped the others when they were in trouble because we had no capacity for cooperation.

So we fell while the West advanced and became affluent through their hard work, new machines and grasp of science and technology. But it took them nearly 150 years to do this. We do not have that much time. We want to



do it quickly. However there is no magic formula to do it. It cannot be done by consulting the stars. What we require is hard work. If we could achieve our goals merely by passing laws, we would immediately pass a law abolishing poverty. But that would be like passing a law to make the Brahmaputra flow more slowly. It is absurd. People seem to think that everything can be done by passing laws. I agree that there should be good laws in the land. But ultimately a nation can progress only through the hard work on the part of the people. Again, the effort has to be of the right kind and in the right direction. Otherwise we would be wasting our energies in futile activity. If we left every individual to do as he likes our meagre resources would be frittered away without any great benefit to the country. That is why planning is extremely important.

It is four and a half years since we started the First Plan and I feel that the country has benefited a great deal from it. The economy has been strengthened. But we have to take more rapid strides now. So the Second Five Year Plan is being thought out. In a few months' time, a draft plan will be put before you for consideration. It will be finalized next year and then implemented. I want you to understand what planning is all about. The Five Year Plans give a sense of direction and a list of priorities for national tasks. It sets out what the Central Government and the Governments of Assam or other states ought to do. The private sector is free to put industries but they will be within the purview of the Plan. India can progress only through careful planning.

Take industries, for instance. We need coal and steel to set up industries. If they are not available, the industries cannot work. So we have to take all these things into consideration. People must have the purchasing power to buy the things that the industries produce. Arrangements have to be made to increase the purchasing capacity of the people. So the whole thing becomes extremely complex and needs careful thought.

The most urgent priority is food. Everyone must get enough to eat. Then people must have clothes to wear, houses to live in, health care facilities, etc. Arrangements have to be made to eradicate diseases like malaria which afflict millions of people every year. Malaria is spread through mosquitoes which breed in stagnant pools of water. The moment these pools are filled up, the mosquitoes will stop breeding. Wherever this has been done, malaria has been eradicated. The patients have to be treated. But the important thing is to root out the cause of the disease. We must ensure clean and hygienic conditions and clean drinking water supply for everyone in the villages. Then people must have the opportunity for education. Apart from these five needs, namely food, clothes, dwelling place, health care and education, there is a sixth which is employment. Everyone has a right to all these six.

This is no doubt true that everyone cannot be exactly alike, even if they go to schools and colleges. Some are quicker than others physically and mentally. But we have to ensure that there are equal opportunities for all. Once

that is done, each individual can go as far as he is able to. The worst evil which afflicts the country today is that everyone does not get equal opportunities. I feel very unhappy to see little children all over the country not being cared for. They do not get enough to eat, clean clothes to wear, houses to live in, health care facilities or opportunities to be educated.

I feel angry about this. I want that there should not be a single child in the country who is not properly looked after. All of them are the children of India, whether they are yours or mine, and hence our responsibility. They are the future of India. After all, India is not bricks and mortar. It is you and I and all of us put together who are India. All of us are tiny bits of India. Everyone must get equal opportunities but particularly the children. We must ensure that not a single boy or girl is left out.

The question is how to go about this. It is a gigantic task and requires large sums of money. It cannot be done instantly. But we have to keep that goal in mind and steadily work towards that. Take health care. It has been given a very high priority in our planning. Illnesses are on the decline, particularly malaria and other endemic diseases which have afflicted the people for centuries.

As for food, as I said, our food production is going up. We are building more schools. All this takes time. One problem is that we build too many schools, colleges and universities too quickly. They may look good but do not serve any purpose. After all, education does not depend on bricks and mortar. Nor is it enough for the children to learn things by rote and pass examinations. Education is something quite different. The problem in India today is that students pass a number of examinations without learning very much of value. How can India progress? Ultimately, a nation's progress depends on the quality of its people, the number of people who are of good character, intelligence and courage, people who are fearless. These are the ones who make a nation great. The more the number of people of great quality, the more India will progress. Mere numbers do not make a nation great. After all, we had a huge population even under the British and yet a handful of them ruled over us easily. That is because they were more intelligent and united as a people. We used to fight among ourselves in the name of religion, caste and other petty issues. We are in the habit of breaking one another's heads over a few square inches of land. That is why a handful of Englishmen ruled over us. When we learnt the lesson of unity and organization, we acquired great strength and became free.

So a nation's greatness depends on the quality of the people who live in it. I am not referring to big officials or the moneyed classes. In fact, very often, the rich are men of very little stature. They lack qualities of greatness. The truly great men are large-hearted and broad-minded. A nation which consists of large numbers of men of calibre, intelligence, culture, large-heartedness and broad-mindedness can go very far.



We must produce such men of quality through our educational system, through the knowledge that we impart in schools and colleges. I am convinced that once the opportunity is provided, large number of people of quality will emerge in our country. The Five Year Plan takes all these factors into account.

We must become self-reliant in as many areas as possible. We must build our own railway engines, aeroplanes, cars, machines in India. We cannot keep importing all these things. But even more important is to produce the articles of basic consumption which the masses need. Only when we become self-reliant in this field can we retain our wealth within the country and improve our economic condition. That is why Mahatma Gandhi laid stress on cottage industries right from the beginning. That does not mean that we cannot have heavy industries. We shall certainly have heavy, medium and small industries too. But we must promote cottage and small-scale industries all over the country and even encourage them to use electricity and small machines. We must not hold on to outdated methods of working.

As you know, there are large rivers in India like the Brahmaputra which cause great damage at times when there are floods. Now we are building dams on these large rivers and harnessing the latent energy in the river waters to produce electricity. The hydroelectric power which is thus generated is then transmitted through wires to perform innumerable tasks. Rivers are a great source of energy. Electricity is used to perform many other tasks both at home and in the fields and industries. Having electricity is like having ten additional hands in the house to help. The age of servants is now disappearing, which is a good thing. People must do their own work or use small machines.

Therefore, the more electricity we generate, the greater will be our capacity to work. We are building huge power plants in different parts of the country. We are doing something here also.<sup>5</sup> This will lead to more industries coming up, which in turn will generate more employment and production of essential consumer goods. In this way, a large concentric circle of development will gather momentum. People must work hard and produce more, for the more we produce, the faster we can progress. The wealth of the nation will increase proportionately and the people will benefit directly. The only thing that we have to guard against is that the new wealth that is produced remains in the hands of a few people. Therefore, we have to aim at building a structure of society in which there is equitable distribution of wealth. We must not allow a handful of people to become rich at the expense of the rest.

That is why we have now decided to adopt the goal of a socialistic pattern of society. That does not mean that we can establish socialism by passing a law, nor is it possible to do so by shouting slogans. It has to be built from

5. The Umtru hydroelectric power project with an installed capacity of seven thousand kW began in the Assam State in 1949-50. It was to be completed by 1956-57.

below. Our present social structure is the product of thousands of years. If we try to overturn it in a hurry, we may do greater harm than good. But there is no doubt about it that it has to be changed and by peaceful methods. That can be done only by bringing about greater equality among the people gradually and by increasing the national wealth and ensuring its equitable distribution.

This is what the Five Year Plans aim at. But all this is possible only when the people are willing to work instead of frittering away their energies in futile quarrels in the name of religion, province, language, caste, etc. It is extremely foolish on our part to indulge in such narrow-minded activities. After all, India, whether you call it Bharat or Hindustan, is one country. Assam, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad, Madras, Bombay, Travancore, Mysore are all parts of this country. They are great provinces no doubt. But they are after all, boundaries demarcated for administrative convenience. If you go abroad, nobody will ask you if you hail from Dibrugarh or Assam. Your passport will only show that you are a citizen of India....

Dibrugarh is a particularly beautiful place and it gladdens my heart to be here. Thank you very much. Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

Now we shall have the national anthem. Please listen carefully to what I have to say. One, nobody should start singing until the word is given. I have found that in Dibrugarh people start singing even while I am speaking. It is all wrong. you must start only when I say so, not until then. Two, *Jana gana mana* is our national anthem. So it must be sung in loud and clear voices, with eyes open. You must stand erect like soldiers and sing, not hum it under your breath. Thirdly, you must remember that *Jana gana mana* has been written by our great poet, Rabindranath Tagore. But apart from that, it has been selected to be our national anthem. Recently in my tours abroad, I went to China and then to Europe, the Soviet Union, etc., I visited the areas of the Soviet Union which are in the Himalayas. Then I went to Europe, to Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and other countries, wherever I went I was greeted with our national anthem, as the convention is. When foreign dignitaries come to India, we greet them with their national anthem. I heard the national anthem being sung and played by bands and orchestras in innumerable places. In some places, as in the Soviet Union, a chorus of 500 boys and girls gave a beautiful rendition of *Jana gana mana*. It is given great honour abroad. So as you know, everyone must stand up when the national anthem is sung because it is, in a sense the voice of the nation, of *Bharat Mata*. We must stand erect like soldiers and not shuffle around while it is being sung. I would also like to tell you that everyone must learn to sing the national anthem. When the girls sing just now all of you must join in. It does not matter if you do not know the words. The girls will sing one line at a time and you will repeat it. Have you understood? All right, stand up, everybody. Let us start.



## 7. Students and Discipline<sup>1</sup>

It was raining very heavily when I arrived here. I thought that it must be causing you great inconvenience. Therefore, I was surprised to see all of you sitting peacefully. The earth must be wet and yet you are sitting quietly.

I was in Dibrugarh, no, in Shillong, in Assam the day before yesterday and it was raining very heavily there also when I went to address a public meeting. Well, the meeting had to go on. But I could not see any of the faces before me. Ten or fifteen thousand umbrellas were all that I could see. So I addressed those ten or fifteen thousand umbrellas. Anyhow, it is not raining here at the moment. So I want you to sit together peacefully so that I can talk about some important matters with you. It would be better if all of you sat down. As for the banner which the students of Patna are waving asking me to visit the B.N. College, I have seen it. So please remove it so that others can see me. I can read for myself and now I want the banner to be removed. I cannot see the people. It is in the way. I have taken note of your demand.

First of all, I want to tell you the reason for my visit to Patna now. There have been riots and firing in Patna recently.<sup>2</sup> But that is purely a coincidence. My visit had been fixed earlier and has nothing to do with these incidents. I had decided to go to Assam and felt that it would be a good thing to pay a brief visit to Patna too to meet colleagues and, perhaps address a meeting. There are many things on my mind.

As you know, I returned from a long tour abroad about six weeks ago. I thought I would tell you a little about that visit. But the thing which is uppermost in my mind is the various steps that we have to take for India's progress and development. There are many things to think about in that connection. But the most important thing is the Second Five Year Plan. I want to share my thoughts with you about it because it is absolutely essential that it is drawn up with the consent of the people. The burden of implementing the Plan will, after all, fall upon the masses. Government fiat cannot achieve such far-reaching changes. Therefore, I want to say a few words about the Second Five Year Plan and about the situation in the world, for India has been given the opportunity of playing a role on the world stage and benefited by it. I do not claim that India has worked wonders on the world stage. That would be absurd. But you may call it a coincidence or the fact that freedom has brought new responsibilities with it and India has become a player on the world stage. What we do now

1. Speech at a public meeting, Patna, 30 August 1955. AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi.

2. See *ante*, p. 57.

depends entirely on our intelligence and daring and the policies that we follow. But we can certainly claim that our achievements have not been backed by military might or wealth. Our strength has lain entirely in following the right policy. Our successes in the field of international affairs and world peace has not been due to threats or physical strength, but because of our policies and service to the cause of humanity.

In the beginning, many foreign powers were annoyed with our policy of non-alignment. As you know, the world has been divided largely, into two armed camps and the threat of war is constantly hanging over our heads. Modern weapons have become extremely lethal. Countries in both the camps were annoyed with us for not joining them.

Well, when they realized gradually that our policy was not based on fear but on what we thought was right, there was the beginning of respect for India and her policy. Even those who continued to disagree with us realized that our policy was an honest one and that we were non-aligned and peace-loving.

As you know, peace and democracy are words which are often used in vain. You cannot have peace merely by talking about it. The proper atmosphere has to be created. Nations should speak in a peaceful voice. Their actions should show that they want peace. But we have seen that peace is talked of in warlike tones. Peace conferences are held in which the vocabulary of the participants is anything but peaceful. It is indeed strange. We have to change our tone first.

I want to say a few words about the Second Five Year Plan in particular, because it concerns all of us in India. After all, respect for India in the world depends on the country's strength and the progress it makes. India will not earn respect in the world if we make a great deal of noise. On the other hand, it will give us a bad name.

Therefore, whether we take our foreign policy or internal policy, what really counts is how we progress as a nation. India is held in respect in the world today for a number of reasons. But the most important one is that the world has seen India making rapid strides during the last six or seven years. It has seen that India is capable of taking up and completing big tasks and that it can go very far. There is great hidden potential in India. The important thing is to organize that strength and bring it to the fore. I am not talking of military strength but of the will to work. In the modern world, the really powerful countries are those which are capable of working hard and increasing production, which in turn will eradicate poverty and improve the standard of living of the people. That is the real strength of a nation. Other things flow from that. Therefore, it is extremely important for us to understand what we must do in order to progress.

As you are aware, in the First Five Year Plan, we laid great stress on increasing food production. There was great shortage of food in the country and we could not allow people to die of starvation. We had to make



arrangements for importing foodgrains worth hundreds of crores of rupees. So the most urgent task before us was to increase production of foodgrains. If we did not have enough to eat in the country how could we hope to set up industries?

What can I say about the international situation and the Second Five Year Plan when the incidents of the last few days are still fresh in the minds of the people? The riots and firing were extremely painful. What can I talk about when your minds are full of these traumatic experiences?

I want to say a few words about the incidents which rocked Patna a few days ago. First of all, as you saw just now, a banner was put up before me demanding that I should visit the B.N. College. I told them that it would be most improper for me to go there just now. Do you know why? The Chief Justice of Bihar has been appointed to head the commission of inquiry to go into the whole thing. It would be wrong and improper for me to go there now interfering with his work. After all, I am the Prime Minister and it would be wrong for me to express an opinion one way or the other. An inquiry is being held. I cannot interfere in it or express an opinion in the matter. So I refused to go there. I heard whatever they had to say and told them what I thought was proper. The fact is that when an inquiry is being held, it is not proper for anyone to interfere.

I have been reading newspaper reports. But one gets a better picture by seeing for oneself. The incidents which occurred here a fortnight ago were most regrettable. It is obvious that any incident which warrants firing is bound to be deplorable. Nobody can be in favour of it. It is also equally obvious that nobody can declare categorically that there shall be no firing no matter what happens, even if Patna were to burn. You will understand this I am sure.

So an inquiry has to be held according to certain rules and regulations. But the important thing is how a nation or a city runs its affairs. It is obvious that in the last ten or fifteen days there has not been much peace here. What has troubled and upset me most is that some people—I do not know who they are—have dared to insult our National Flag. I can tell you that I can accept the death of ten thousand or even ten lakh Indians. But I cannot accept anyone insulting the National Flag. I cannot forgive anyone for this. If you feel it is necessary to dishonour the National Flag, you are welcome to leave the country and go and live in Great Britain or the Soviet Union. You are no Indian. In India, the National Flag is the symbol of the nation's honour and freedom and anyone who dares to raise a hand against it is a traitor. He should be punished as a traitor. I want you to understand this. There will be no softness in dealing with this. That is the simple, straightforward fact.

It grieves me to hear of death or disaster in India. But I want the honour of the National Flag to be upheld at all times. You must have heard what happened in Goa. There was a good and a bad side to that story. But there was

one incident which shook every Indian to the core. An Indian woman, Subhadra Sagar, carried the National Flag while bullets were being fired upon her. Yet she did not allow the Flag to fall. Just imagine the courage of an Indian woman. Which country do you belong to that you can watch while the National Flag is trampled upon and dishonoured? Let me make it quite clear that there will be an inquiry into it and everyone involved in the incident, whether it is the police or someone else, will be punished. I cannot interfere since the Chief Justice is holding the inquiry. But I can sit in judgement, as the Prime Minister of India, upon those who dishonour the National Flag. Even the greatest power on earth will have to pay the price for dishonouring our National Flag. You can imagine what my feelings are when our own young people try to trample on the National Flag. If you have young blood in your veins, I too am not without spirit. I cannot tolerate this at all. Please understand that. Is India a nation of immature, childish people who forget the larger issues and get carried away over petty things? What kind of people are they who live in India, in Bihar?

As I said, whoever is guilty must be punished. But everything must be done according to rules and regulations. We must behave like an adult, mature, independent nation. You are aware of the situation in the world today. I have roamed all over the world. I know a little about what is happening in the world. Nations are of different hues and ideologies, communist countries, socialist countries. The United States, the UK, the Soviet Union, China, Japan and Germany are all part of the international system. But I would like to ask you if you have heard of the people or students of any of these countries, whether they are capitalist, communist or socialist countries, behaving in this hooligan-like fashion? Have you heard of action committees being appointed? I would like to have one example of such things happening anywhere else in the world, in Asia, Africa, America or Europe.

Then why is it that we have students here forming action committees? When they came to me,<sup>3</sup> I told them clearly that I was prepared to meet students but not an Action Committee. I do not accept action committees of students or workers or anyone else. I want you to think carefully about where we are bound. As I said, if the police make mistakes, they should certainly be punished. If students are the culprits, they too should be punished. Why have you stopped cheering? We cannot be one-sided. I have not come here either to criticise or praise you. We are responsible for keeping this country on an even keel. Have you heard of our famous ancient classics, the Upanishads? Upanishad means to sit together.

3. A three-man deputation of the Patna Students Action Committee led by S. Shivanath and Surendra Sinha met Nehru on the 24 August 1955 in New Delhi and urged him to make proper enquiries about the recent disturbances in Patna from other sources at his disposal.



Well as I was saying, I would like to ask the citizens of Patna and the local newspapermen what they have achieved during this period. As far as your newspapers are concerned, I can tell you quite clearly that I have never seen such useless ones. There is not a vestige of a sense of responsibility in them. They get carried away over the most petty issues in anger. Is this some kind of a joke?

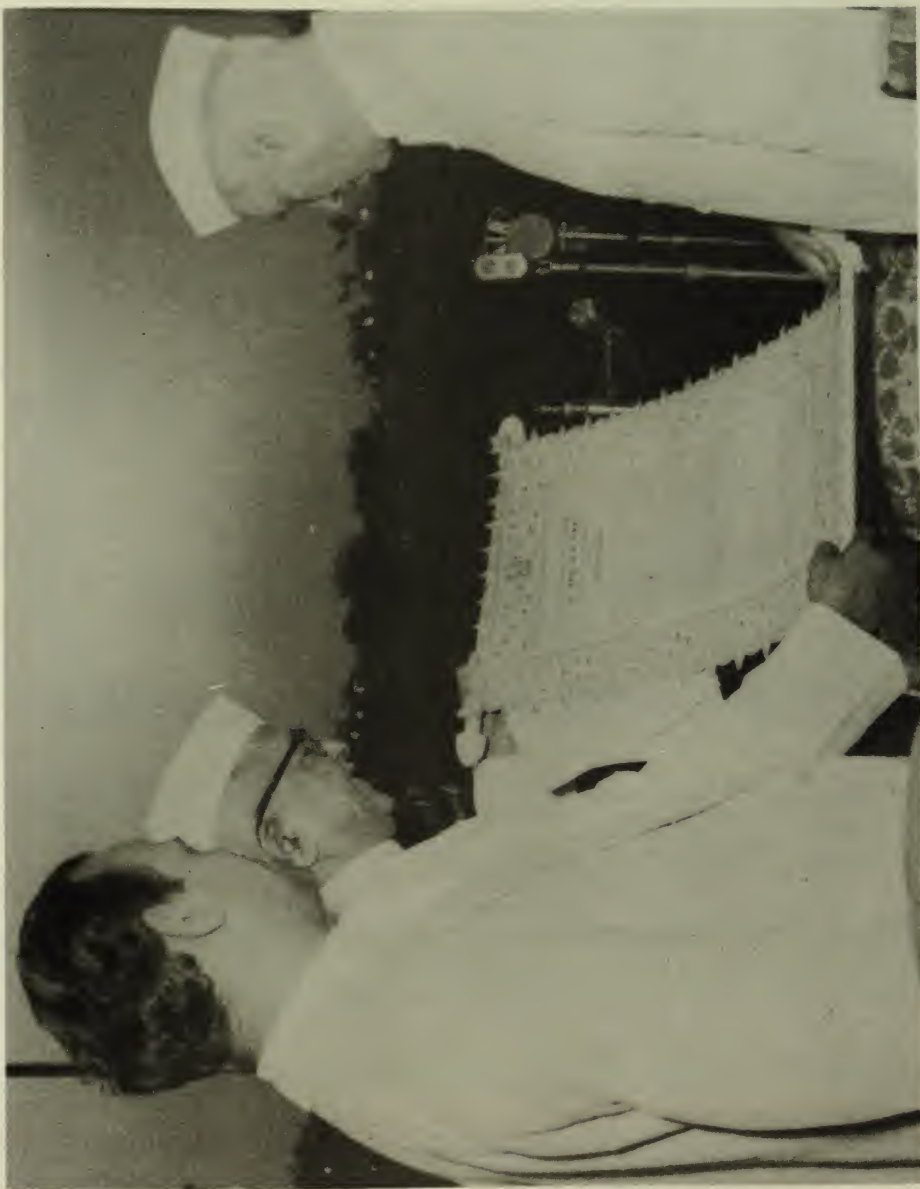
Shouting and creating chaos will get you nowhere. I represent a mature nation. How can I have any respect for you, for your intelligence or understanding, if the students of this town do not have the patience to listen to me? It is possible that some of you may be brilliant. But take the Students' Federation,<sup>4</sup> which is connected with the Communist Party. The Communist Party has no base left in this country. So it resorts to these tricks. Other organizations do the same thing too and instead of trying to come up with intelligent solutions, they foment trouble in the hope of strengthening themselves.

I want you to think seriously about it. It would seem that the people of Bihar are not particularly peace-loving. As I have said, the most crucial thing for India's progress is discipline. I want to make it quite clear to you that the activities of the Communist Party and the Students' Federation are counter-revolutionary and reactionary. They are inimical to India's freedom. What an absurd marriage it is between the Jana Sangh and Communist Party! Both together make a completely counter-revolutionary body. The people of India, and particularly the citizens of Bihar must realize that they have got embroiled in reactionary, counter-revolutionary activities. It is possible that it is the lawless elements in these organizations who are responsible for these troubles. I do not know. It is after all their occupation. Intelligent, sensible human beings do not make a noise about everything.

So, are you going to hand over your city to the lawless elements, the counter-revolutionaries, in a spiritless way? You must think. I am not talking about the students just now. Students are after all young and may be led astray in their youthful exuberance. Not that I will tolerate wrong-doing on the part of youngsters or do what they want. But leaving aside the right and wrong of it, we must realize that we are getting a bad name in the world. The wrongdoers will of course be punished. But in view of the incidents of the last few days, what we did in Goa has paled into insignificance. The general impression is that we are a nation of hooligans who cannot do anything constructive.

Just imagine what the reaction would be if anybody dared to lift a finger against the government in the Soviet Union. The Students' Federation would do well to think of it. Perhaps in no other country in the world is there as

4. All India Students' Federation (AISF), under communist control since 1940, came into existence in 1936.



AT A CIVIC RECEPTION, RAMLILA GROUNDS,  
DELHI, 16 JULY 1955





PLAYING WITH A TIGER CUB, TEEN MURTI HOUSE,  
NEW DELHI, 12 AUGUST 1955

much freedom as there is in India. It is all very well for you to shout slogans. But you must think how it affects India's reputation and stature in the world. The amazing thing is, whom are you fighting against? You are free to criticise the Government. But what is the sense in fighting with the transport workers or railway people? I have evidence to show that goondas have entered the trains, not only in Patna but elsewhere too, and beaten up the passengers and the guards and the drivers, none of whom have anything to do with all this.<sup>5</sup> What have they done? Is this how you are going to create a proletariat here by killing the proletariat and beating up the workers? It is absurd.

Ticketless travel has become an occupation of the people of Bihar now. I am sure you will earn a great name for yourselves. Some members of your Action Committee had gone to Delhi to meet me, and forgetting that the rest of India is not yet like Patna they travelled without tickets. They were promptly arrested and sent off to jail which surprised them no end. How can we go on like this?

There is a banner here demanding an inquiry into the firing in Nawada. For my part I would request your Chief Minister to hold an inquiry into every incident that has occurred in Bihar, in Nawada as well as in other places, so that a complete picture may emerge. Ultimately, you must remember that this is not a matter of a court case. The real issue before us is, how to build a new India. If necessary, policies can be changed. But we have the task of building a strong nation and improving the standard of living of the people, particularly the 80% of the population which lives in the rural areas. That is why we have drawn up the Five Year Plans. It is pretty obvious that internal feuds and communal disharmony will lead to a break-up of the country, as we have already seen, unfortunately, in 1947. Now we are beginning to fight among ourselves vitiating the atmosphere. It can bring nothing but harm to the country. There can be no progress. I want you to think about it.

It has been nearly forty-five years since I started my public life and I have seen a great many ups and downs in that time. I had the opportunity of sitting at Mahatmaji's feet and learning a little from him. The last four decades are a historic period and we played a small role in it. Millions of people in India were united under one banner and became an organized mass. We marched to freedom.

I remember that whenever we used to make mistakes, Mahatma Gandhi would punish his soldiers. Do you remember that time, thirty-four years ago, when the satyagraha movement was at its peak? We were in jail. Then suddenly,

5. On 18 August 1955 a crowd of students of Katra and Sijna schools, Dhanbad, damaged a Ranchi bound bus by brickbating and chased the bus conductor. In Darbhanga, a large number of students who came by train from different parts of the district forced bona fide passengers to vacate their compartments.



an incident occurred in Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur district. The poor, ignorant peasants made a mistake. They burnt down the police station. Mahatma Gandhi called off the civil disobedience and the satyagraha movement ground to a halt all over the country. This is how we have been trained.

I was young then. We were all very angry that Mahatmaji should call a stop to the movement at its peak, all because of the mistake of a few peasants. But Mahatmaji knew what he was doing. He was a great general and knew how wars are fought. So he punished us again and again and called a halt to movements when they were gathering momentum. We often fell but we picked ourselves up and went on. This is how India has progressed step by step. This is how we learnt to be organized and patient and to put a brake on ourselves at full speed. We learned to control our passions and convert them into a great, organized strength instead of frittering it away in useless ways.

That is how India was trained and that is how we got freedom. We became an example to the whole world of a nation fighting for freedom by peaceful methods. Have we forgotten all that training today? For those of you who are very young, the story of India's struggle for freedom is mere hearsay. You have not had first-hand experience. At the most, some of you may remember the last few years of it. You have not experienced it over thirty or forty years. It was a difficult time and the emphasis was on discipline, because we were up against the might of a great empire. But we fought them successfully and won freedom.

Now how do you think we can solve India's problems except through discipline? It is up to you, the people of India, to decide what policies we should follow. We have democracy in India. But having chosen a policy, we have to implement it peacefully, in an organized manner, on democratic principles. We cannot get anywhere by beating up one another or breaking the laws. No nation has ever progressed in this manner.

Look at the countries of Asia. I do not wish to name anyone. India has acquired a special place in Asia. There is great respect for India in the world for various reasons. For one thing, it is the manner in which we won freedom. Two, we have been gradually laying the foundations of a strong nation during the last seven or eight years and we are now forging ahead. Why should we destroy all that we have built up so carefully? You are welcome to choose the policies we should follow. But I want you to remember the most important lesson taught by Mahatma Gandhi which was to work peacefully and in a disciplined manner. As you know, even when Gandhiji was alive our communist comrades did not accept his teaching. Even after India became independent, they kept insisting that India was still a colonial country. They were unable to grasp a simple fact which the whole world accepted. It is only when the Soviet Union praised India for having won freedom that the communists in India accepted the fact. They are puppets in the hands of a foreign power and dance

to their tune. How can any party serve the country as long as it behaves like this?

That is why I keep repeating again and again that the activities of the Communist Party and its offshoots are counter-revolutionary. They will weaken the national fabric because they are incapable of peaceful, constructive work of nation-building. I respect the Soviet Union and am prepared to learn a great deal from it. But how can I cooperate with counter-revolutionaries who want to destroy what we have built? They want to do that so that in the ensuing chaos they may come to power. You cannot serve India like this. What India needs is skilled, trained human beings, good doctors and engineers and others. We need millions of such people in India today.

Big changes are taking place all over the country. We have the Community Projects and the National Extension Service in the rural areas. There are Five Year Plans. We need trained people for all these things. What can you achieve by slogan-mongering and creating chaos? People of my generation are old and our time is coming to an end. We are in the twilight of our lives. We have done what we could in the last forty or fifty years. History will judge whether what we did was right or wrong. We have had a hand in writing the history of India during the last four decades. But now our time is coming to an end. Others will take our place and the responsibility of shouldering the country's burdens will fall upon those who are in colleges today. It is up to you to decide how you are going to discharge that duty. People come and go, but the nation is immortal. How are you, the millions of young boys and girls studying in schools and colleges today, going to shoulder the responsibility of running this country? You have to prepare yourselves for it.

I visited a number of countries recently. I went to the Soviet Union and travelled a great deal. It is a great country and has made tremendous progress. It is their strict discipline, the kind which you may not even dream of, which is responsible for their progress. It is because of this strict discipline that they won in the Second World War. I am convinced that without that discipline and hard work and effort at nation-building, the Soviet Union could not have won. There was no end to their sacrifices. Half the nation was in ruins and millions were killed. Yet they succeeded through sheer discipline.

Unless we develop the habit of strict discipline and if we give up the path of peace which led us to freedom, believe me, the country will be torn asunder by communalism and casteism. This is something that you should bear in mind. The most crucial things for India at this juncture are unity and discipline. A policy can be effective only when it is backed by organized strength and discipline. Without that no policy can succeed.

We are passing through critical times. This is the age of nuclear weapons. The world is in a state of flux. I do not know if you have followed the Conferences which were held in Paris and Geneva on atomic energy. They



were chaired by a great Indian scientist, Dr Bhabha.<sup>6</sup> In his address he said a curious thing. He said that the history of the world could be divided into three parts. The first one dates back to thousand of years up to the Industrial Revolution a couple of centuries ago. The second phase is that of the Industrial Revolution itself through which human beings acquired new sources of energy which transformed the world. The world that we live in is the product of the Industrial Revolution. Whether we speak over the microphone or travel by plane or train or in the weapons that countries use in war, we are surrounded by the discoveries and inventions of the Industrial Revolution. It is through industrialization the West has advanced so rapidly and become extremely wealthy and powerful. The Industrial Revolution provided them with the means of increasing production enormously. India remained poor because we did not have an Industrial Revolution. Nor did we advance in the field of science. We became adept at repeating old lessons learnt by rote.

The period of the last two hundred and fifty years or so, the age of the Industrial Revolution, constitutes the second phase of world history. Now we are on the threshold of the third phase, the nuclear age. Nuclear energy is a great source of strength which none of us understands fully yet. People are beginning to be afraid that if it is allowed to grow without restraint, it could even destroy human civilization. If it is used well, it could mean undreamt of prosperity for mankind and poverty could be eradicated completely.

We are on the threshold of a great age. In five or ten years' time, you will see great changes all over the world. I may or may not be alive then. But you will certainly witness that great age. Where will you be then unless you prepare yourselves for it? The world will continue to progress while you shout slogans and remain in the old ruts. You must think about the kind of world we live in. The days when revolutions like the French Revolution were wrought on the streets are gone. Nowadays, revolutions are of other kinds.

What does a revolution mean? It means change—social, political and economic change. I agree that we have to bring about a great revolution in India. We have succeeded in bringing about political change. Now we have to bring about economic and social change. People often think of revolutions as chaos and violence. Have you ever paused to consider how revolutionary the things that are happening in India are? Leave aside the end of British rule though that in itself was a great achievement after 250 years of foreign domination. But many significant changes have occurred since then. The merger of the six hundred odd Indian States peacefully and by mutual consent is a unique phenomenon. Within a couple of months of getting freedom, they disappeared from the map of India. It is true that we gave them generous

6. See *ante*, p. 26.

compensation and pensions. But we succeeded in changing the map of India by peaceful methods. I can claim that such a big step has never been taken so peacefully ever before in the history of the world.

We used to have the zamindari system in India. We abolished it from the country. It has virtually come to an end except in a few pockets. It was a revolutionary step. As you know, the delay has been largely due to legal tangles and court injunctions and appeals. So we were helpless. But we brought about a great revolution completely peacefully, without chaos or bloodshed. It has been our method and undoubtedly, we shall bring about other socio-economic changes equally peacefully. Other countries too are veering round to the idea of peaceful change because the alternative path of violence has become so terrible that it could lead to total destruction. The French Revolution took place in a different age and milieu. Similarly, at a time when Russia was reeling under the defeat at the hands of Germany, a great man, Lenin, appeared on the scene and taking advantage of the situation, spearheaded the revolution. You must bear in mind that in the beginning the Russian revolution was not very violent in character. All that came later.

Anyhow, the days of violent revolutions are over. Those who continue to believe in it do so out of sheer ignorance. First of all, I want you to understand the kind of country India is. There are great provinces, Bihar, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Mysore, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh. The list is long. All of them put together, from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, constitute India.

There is great diversity in India. There are various religions all of them belonging to this country. It is true that the majority of our people are Hindus. But there are millions of Muslims. There are large numbers of Christians, particularly in the South. Then there are Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists, Jains, etc. All of them belong to India. Even the religions which are not indigenous to India came to these shores hundreds of years ago. No matter what religion an individual may follow, so long as he is a citizen of India, he should be treated as a brother. We are all part of a large family and therefore, we must live in unity and harmony.

But as you know, one of our greatest weaknesses is disunity. People often quarrel in the name of religion. Religion is brought into politics to incite people. Communal parties incite the people in the name of religion. One of them, the Muslim League, did great harm to India by its wrong policies. We paid a great price. Now communalism is rearing its head among Hindus and Sikhs too. We have not learnt a lesson and are now making the same mistake which led to the Partition of the country.

Then there is casteism among the Hindus. It is particularly vicious in Bihar. I do not even know all the names of the castes and nor do I care to know them. Elections are fought on caste considerations. Let me tell you that India



has been ruined because of casteism. Hindu society has suffered greatly because of caste distinctions and untouchability and what not. It is absurd. We must root out casteism from India. The youth in particular must take it upon themselves to go out and fight against casteism in Bihar and elsewhere. Fight against the things which create barriers among the people and bring about a social revolution. Why do you get involved in petty issues? You are hot-blooded youth. So you must take up these grand tasks.

There are many things in our society which lead to quarrels among the people. We fight in the name of religion and caste. After the zamindari system was abolished, the erstwhile zamindars have been angry and have begun to spearhead trouble. They help even with money to encourage hooliganism. You must remember that when a social revolution takes place, there are bound to be some elements in society which are displeased because they have to suffer losses. The only difference is that in countries like the Soviet Union and China, their heads were cut off right in the beginning. We treat them with respect and ask for their cooperation. Sometimes they cooperate and at others incite people to create trouble. You must not be lured by them or their money.

People are of course free to follow any policy that they choose. But the moment we allow ourselves to behave like hooligans, we will lose control over ourselves. The best of policies cannot prove effective in such a situation. The reins then pass into the hands of goondas, the lawless elements. You must not allow yourselves to get entangled in such things.

I want to tell you one thing more. I said earlier, if the police have made mistakes, they should undoubtedly be punished. Whether it is students or transport workers or bus drivers who are the culprits, they must certainly be punished. But you must remember one thing and that is, a policeman and a transport worker, just like you and me, are after all, the citizens of our country. It is possible that many of you may become police officers later on in life. Or you may join some other profession. After all, policemen are essential for the maintenance of law and order.

The sign of coherence in a nation is in the extent of cooperation between the people and the police. The British police, particularly London policemen, are famous all over the world. They are held in great regard. Here in India, in the days of British rule, it was difficult for the people to cooperate with the police. It is obvious that the police then represented a foreign government and so clashes were inevitable. But it should not be so now. Even if there is a clash, an attempt should be made to defuse the situation instead of letting it escalate. It is not a good thing that policemen should regard students as their enemies or vice versa. Anyone who makes a mistake ought to be punished. But there must be a feeling of cooperation and mutual trust between the police and the citizens. Mistakes ought to be punished. But the attitude of confrontation is bad for it will lead to the fragmentation of the country.

We have our armed forces. They have fired upon Indians under British rule. But now they are a national army and so we treat them as our brave young comrades. The police should also be a nationalist force. We must not do anything to spoil this image. Once things go wrong, nobody retains a sense of responsibility and control passes into the hands of the lawless elements. Ultimately, it is the people who earn a bad name. It is not right that you should allow a situation to develop in which the culprit is someone else and you get a bad name. We must think about these matters with calm minds. There will be an inquiry into the incidents in Patna and elsewhere in Bihar. But the important thing to remember is that you are getting into an attitude of confrontation with your own people.

The transport workers, the bus drivers and railway workers are all our staff. They are not big officials. Clashes between them and students are a very bad thing. There are nearly nine hundred thousand railway workers in India. They have very good unions. It will be wrong of you to annoy them. Those who make mistakes will be punished. The student population is also a great big trade union. It would be most improper if they are forever in an attitude of confrontation with either the government or this or that union or with their own professors.

I mentioned the word Upanishad right at the beginning. What does it mean? I do not know if you have had the opportunity of reading the Upanishads. The word means to sit near, for a student and teacher to sit together and learn by means of question and answer. The Upanishads are our greatest classical literature. They represent the ancient tradition of education. Now unfortunately, the bond between the teacher and the taught has broken. The problem is that our ancient culture, our old standards and values, the old yardsticks of gauging the right and wrong of issues are fast disappearing. Our old norms of behaviour are being given up and we have not yet adapted to the modern civilization. So we are neither here nor there. We fall between two stools. This is our problem.

That is why I tell you that I can accept it if you want to maintain the standards of discipline which obtain in the UK or the Soviet Union. I can tell you that you will not find a more rigorous standard of discipline anywhere else. You are welcome to adopt that. If you prefer to evolve a new standard, please do so. But let us not make the mistake of falling between two stools. How will that enhance our stature? This is a question which concerns not you alone but the whole of India. An age has come to an end and we have not yet stepped into the new age. We have become a free nation, but I am referring to our intellectual age. We are gradually becoming an industrialized nation and the face of the land will change. Leave aside atomic energy, we are not even an industrialised nation yet. We have to prepare ourselves for the new age. You will find that China is making rapid strides. Great things are happening in



India too. That is why India is held in great respect in the world. You must participate in the task of nation-building.

Let me tell you that there is no more exciting challenge than the building of a new India. When I was on my way back from China,<sup>7</sup> I said in my farewell speech that of the innumerable issues in the world, the two most exciting ones are the picture that China and India present. It is obvious that my work lies here in India. The two countries are following paths of their own choosing which differ in various respects. I am interested and history will be the judge, to see how far the two countries can get by following the path that they have chosen. The eyes of the world are upon the millions in India.

What is the need of the times? The fact is that no matter which policy one chooses, it has to be after careful thought. Ultimately, what a nation becomes depends on its human beings, their character, physical fitness and intellect. Ultimately it is human beings who have to do the work. I do not know if you remember, because you must have been very young at that time, but Gandhiji did not allow a single day to pass without holding prayer meetings, morning and evening, whether he was in India or abroad. He used to hold them at four in the morning and about 6 o'clock in the evening and everyone was free to attend them. In the evening meetings, apart from other things, some stanzas from the Gita were always recited. They were from the end of the second chapter of the Gita and were meant to remind us how human beings ought to conduct themselves. What it said was that it is the people of quality who make a nation what it is. We are men of small stature and all of us cannot become *sthitaprajna*. We cannot become mahatmas. But at least many of us got the opportunity of sitting at the feet of a great master and learning something. One of the lessons that he always laid stress on was that we must always follow the right path, no matter what happened. Do not do the wrong thing consciously. You may make mistakes sometimes. As you know, I am a much maligned man. People say that I have a very quick temper, and it is true. I accept my shortcoming and am always prepared to apologize when I lose my temper. At least I do not hide my mistakes.

But I have learnt something at the feet of the Mahatma. How can I ever repay the love and confidence which millions of human beings in India repose in me? I am forever crushed under a great debt to them. Even if I lived for a thousand or ten thousand years, and served the people, I would still not be able to repay them. I shall work to my utmost ability for the few years left to me. But as far as I have understood it, Mahatma Gandhi's most important lesson was not to do wrong. Good ends cannot be attained by wrong means. The

7. Nehru was in China from 18 to 30 October 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 3-53.

objective, the goal must, of course, be right. The means that you use to achieve that goal are equally important. They must be the right means. You cannot achieve the right ends by adopting the wrong means. You will invariably be led astray. That is the simple truth. If you wish to travel north and actually take the road to the west, you cannot reach your destination.

What has happened today in the world is that with atomic energy, man has acquired a great lethal weapon. You cannot imagine the destruction that one single atom bomb is capable of. It can easily destroy the whole of Patna in a moment. In fact, that is nothing. Its destructive capacity has multiplied many times over. It is something which once unleashed can harm generations to come by the lingering after-effects of radiation. Scientists are of the opinion that the human civilization which has grown and spread over thousands of years may even come to an abrupt end. Einstein, one of the world's greatest scientists, once said that if there was another world war, any wars after that will have to be fought with bows and arrows.<sup>8</sup> It means that civilization as we know it will come to an end and the survivors will be back in the Stone Age.

So, at a time like this when man has acquired such a great power, it is more than ever necessary to think about our standards, values and principles. It is important that we should not allow ourselves to be led astray in a fit of passion. Otherwise man can destroy the world. So the standards that he sets for himself become extremely important. In the olden days, man could not do much damage in war with his lathi or sword. Then came the gun with greater destructive capacity. A gunshot can kill instantly even if a man shoots without thinking or in a panic. But now man has acquired enough power to destroy entire cities. Therefore, it has become necessary that every nation in the world must exercise great self-control and discipline. Otherwise ruin will stare us in the face. This is the situation.

Well, I have shared some of my thoughts with you. There is a great deal to say and I am always keen to talk to young people and learn what they think. We have to prepare ourselves for tomorrow, for the kind of India that we want to build. It is a grand task that has fallen to our lot, to build a new India. It is a great adventure, I would say a greater and more exciting adventure than climbing the Everest or an expedition to the North Pole. All of you are welcome to participate in this exciting adventure and contribute to India's progress, thereby serving the larger world too.

We do not wish to go to war with anyone. It is obvious that if we are

8. In fact, this refers to an anonymous World War II remark quoted in Joseph Wood Krutch's *The Measure of Man* (1954): "I don't know what will be the most important weapon in the next war, but I know what will be the most important weapon in the war after that—the bow and arrow." Einstein had said, "The next world war will be fought with stones" as quoted in *Political Warfare* by John Scott.



attacked, we shall defend our borders to our utmost ability. But we have adopted a policy which is gradually being accepted by the rest of the world. Today, Soviet and American leaders are also veering round to the point of view that no problem should be sought to be solved by war. For the first time in history, the great powers are accepting the principle that wars solve nothing. They are gradually coming round to the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi whether they like it or not. Why? The fact is that they are being pushed by the perils of the atom bomb. It does not matter why they are coming round to the point of view that wars can solve nothing. If international problems cannot be solved by fighting, how can we hope to solve our internal problems by such methods? As you can see, it is absolutely wrong. Organization can give you far greater strength and power. We have to go about our tasks peacefully. Gone are the days when we expressed our anger by shouting slogans and taking out processions. Nowadays many of the slogans which are shouted are completely meaningless and absurd. Not that it makes any difference to me. It harms you for it gives you a bad name. You shout slogans here and reports are wired to foreign newspapers about it which gladden the hearts of our enemies. There are many people in the world today who do not like to see India progressing. They want to drag us down by our feet. You only provide fodder for such people. It is something for you to think about, is it not?

We are on the threshold of the nuclear age in which terrible forces of destruction are being amassed. India is not lagging behind in the field of atomic energy. It is next only to a few countries like the United States, the UK, France, Canada who are leading. But India has made great progress in this field. But we cannot go very far unless the people learn to exercise self-control and discipline. We have to go about our tasks peacefully and in a disciplined manner, and remember that there should be no confrontation between the public and the armed forces or the police. After all the police do their work and if they make mistakes, they will be punished. Anyone can make mistakes. But it is absurd to go and beat up the police or other innocent bystanders for somebody else's mistakes. It is just as bad as killing off innocent people in communal riots. I remember, eight or nine years ago, I was touring Bihar where Hindu-Muslim riots had taken place in some of the districts around Patna. I was completely ashamed to see the terrible barbaric things that our simple, straightforward peasants, innocent and hard-working people, had done. Their deeds earned a terrible reputation for India and Bihar.<sup>9</sup>

The fact of the matter is that our character is not yet quite stable. The moment there is a small spark, it flares up into a huge conflagration which consumes the guilty and the innocent alike. What we need is self-control and

9. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 1. pp. 54-107.

discipline and organization. The important thing is whither India is bound today. There are great tasks waiting to be done and the burden has to be shouldered by the youth of today. As I said, a Chief Justice of the Bihar High Court has been appointed to inquire into the incidents which took place fifteen days ago here in Patna. It is obvious that it will be done peacefully. Any attempt on your part to put pressure on him will be futile. It will be even more improper for me to try to influence him in any way, by word or look. He is completely free to carry out the inquiry as he thinks fit.

What I said earlier has nothing to do with the incidents in Patna. I was speaking in general terms. I told you that I shall make a recommendation to your Chief Minister to hold an inquiry into the incident at Nawada or the problem of whole of Bihar. I do not want you to get involved in long-drawn-out cases against one another. After all, we have to live together in amity.

Let me tell you one more thing. You have the right to belong to any political party that you choose. But one development which is wrong is the increasing interference of political parties in universities and colleges, generating great tensions. It is obvious that such distractions will harm your studies. I do not say that you should not take part in politics. As citizens you must think about these things. But you must keep them out of colleges and universities. Intellectual politics is one thing. To take part in demonstrations and hooliganism in the name of politics is, apart from the right or wrong of it, not proper for students of any country. It has been the lot of students only in countries under foreign rule. It is not the sign of a free nation. You can find out if such things happen in Great Britain, America, Soviet Union, Germany, Japan, China or any other country. You will find how hard the students work in those countries. You must have enthusiasm and spirit. But what is wrong about this entire thing is that others try to exploit your enthusiasm. Your turn will come and then you can prove what you are capable of, in politics or any other field. You are now preparing yourselves and must bear in mind that the slightest deviation from the right path will cause great harm to the country. Let alone other things, even our Hindu society has not stabilized to this day. So long as casteism remains it is futile to talk of socialism or democracy. India has yet to consolidate itself. In particular you should be on guard against caste divisions, which are the bane of Hindu society. So long as caste feeling persists and people say that that man is a brahmin, this man a kshatriya, another is a *kayasth* and yet another belongs to some other caste, we cannot have democracy or socialism.

There are great challenges ahead and we can meet them only through peaceful methods and discipline. I am very grateful to you for hearing me patiently in this rain. Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.





## NATIONAL PROGRESS





## I. ECONOMY

1. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

1 June 1955

My dear Bidhan,

A number of papers have been sent to me regarding the activities of bank employees in Calcutta. As you know, there has been a good deal of trouble about this matter and ultimately some steps were taken and an enquiry instituted.<sup>2</sup>

It appears that the All India Bank Employees Association in Calcutta by means of demonstrations and rallies and threats, induced the Exchange Banks to accept their terms.

I am merely writing to you on one aspect of this matter, that is, the way these coercive processes are resorted to achieve results. The banks complain that they are not given adequate protection and have to give in to threats.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. The AIBEA voiced its protest against the "illegal" imposition of cuts in the emoluments of about fifty-two per cent employees as a consequence of Labour Appellate Tribunal award under the provisions of the Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Act. Earlier, the proposed strike on 10 December 1954 had been deferred in view of the investigation being done by the Rajadhyaksha Committee. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 390-391.

2. To Khandubhai K. Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

2 June 1955

My dear Khandubhai,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose a letter I have received from Shibbanlal Saksena.<sup>3</sup> I do not consider Shibbanlal a responsible person and, therefore, I do not accept everything that he writes or says.

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Labour.
3. Member, Lok Sabha.



But I must say that I am concerned about this long continuing strike in Kanpur.<sup>4</sup> I do not know all the facts and, therefore, cannot express an opinion. But I do not appreciate a completely passive attitude on the part of the Government to it.

I have nothing to suggest. I might mention that I have not read Shibbanlal's letter fully. It is too long.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *ante*, p. 23.

### 3. To P.C. Mahalanobis<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
2 June 1955

My dear Mahalanobis,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of May 31st. In view of your decision, which I respect, I am not putting forward your name for formal membership of the Planning Commission at this stage. I had already informed V.T. Krishnamachari about your name being added to the Commission. Now I am telling him that this will not be done for the present.<sup>3</sup>

Thank you for sending me a copy of Professor Haldane's letter which is most interesting and almost exciting.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.
3. Nehru wrote to Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, on 2 June that P.C. Mahalanobis was firmly of the opinion that he would prefer to work in an informal capacity. See also *post*, p. 102-103.
4. While commenting on some papers written on Five Year Plans by Mahalanobis, J.B.S. Haldane, the renowned biologist, had written to him on 16 May 1955 that "even if one was pessimistic and allowed 15% chance of failure through interference by the USA (via Pakistan or otherwise), 10% by the USSR and China, 20% by the civil service traditionalism and political obstruction, and a 50% by Hindu traditionalism, that left 5% chance for a success which would alter the history of the world for the better. Even 0.5% probability of success would make you feel that your life has been worthwhile as a contribution to *Lokasamgraha*."



WITH PRESIDENT ANTONIN ZAPOTOCKY, PRAGUE, 6 JUNE 1955





WITH CHILDREN, MOSCOW, 7 JUNE 1955

#### 4. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

3 June 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I am now writing to you about the vexed problem of inter-State sales tax. You are no doubt aware that the levy of sales tax on non-resident dealers in respect of inter-State transactions has led to a lot of difficulties for trade. The arrangements devised by the Union Ministry of Finance in consultation with State Governments for minimising the difficulties to trade have given only partial relief.

The Government of India were awaiting the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Commission before taking any further step in the matter.<sup>2</sup> We have now received the report and find that the Commission have made certain long term recommendations in respect of inter-State sales tax,<sup>3</sup> which if accepted would involve an amendment of the Constitution and also Parliamentary legislation. This will naturally take some time, particularly because we feel it desirable in this context to await certain judgments which the Supreme Court is shortly expected to pronounce on the question of extra-territorial levy of sales tax and connected issues.

In the interim period the Commission have suggested that States should forego the tax that they levy at present on non-resident dealers. We have considered this matter carefully and feel that on the whole it is right to accept this suggestion. I understand that in any event the tax proceeds from non-resident dealers represent only a small portion of the total sales tax revenue. I am quite aware that, until such time as the long term proposals are worked out, the exclusion of inter-State transactions from sales tax may raise a few complications; but, on balance, I feel that it would be desirable to suspend the collection of sales tax on non-resident dealers from the current financial year. The difficulties to trade, particularly in respect of products of cottage industries, are very real and I am keen that, pending implementation of the long term

1. File No. 37(124)-55-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 183-184.
2. The Commission, appointed on 1 April 1953 under John Matthai's chairmanship to enquire into the tax structure in relation to public revenues and expenditure, submitted its report on 30 November 1954.
3. According to the report, inter-State sales should be the concern of the Union. The Union should also have power to control the taxation of sales of said materials which figure significantly in inter-State commerce. Parliamentary legislation should provide for the levy of sales tax on inter-State transactions, assessment and collection being delegated to State Governments.



recommendations of the Commission, we should remove the immediate inconveniences of inter-State trade by foregoing this tax.

I shall be grateful if you would kindly look into this matter most urgently and let me know what action you are taking.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Chief Ministers agreed with Nehru regarding foregoing the tax from non-resident dealers.

## 5. Development of Village Industries<sup>1</sup>

Shri V.L. Mehta<sup>2</sup> informed the members that attempts were now being made at Nasik to test the Ambar Charkha.

...Shri Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out that the experiment should take place in different places and even hostile people should be allowed to examine the facts and scrutinise its working scientifically. The approach to the question should not be restrictive and monopolistic. He further observed that the National Development Council had taken into account the broad approach made by the Plan-Frame.<sup>3</sup> The national income had to be raised by twenty-five per cent and production must be improved for giving employment to ten to twelve million people. For achieving this target, there would be heavy industries as well as cottage industries. The approach was not merely quantitative, but also qualitative. The question as to how far the village industries could be fitted in with that approach, should be considered in the larger context. The expert economists of India had, from an entirely different angle, agreed with the suggestion of All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission. It has been proposed that the

1. Minutes of the meeting of the Congress Planning Committee, 3 June 1955. File No. G-66/1955. AICC Papers, NMML.
2. Chairman, All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission.
3. The Second Five Year Plan-Frame, prepared by P.C. Mahalanobis and others, favoured rapid economic growth by increasing the scope of the public sector with the stress on development of core and basic industries, sustained increase of agricultural produce through implementation of agrarian reforms, encouragement of cottage industries, and provision of adequate facilities for housing, education and medical aid for the poorer sections of the society.

Planning Commission should appoint a small Committee for Village Industries.<sup>4</sup> This Committee would be a thinking committee, who should sit down and chalk out definite programme and draft a plan for the village industries.

Nehru further pointed out that the question as to how far community projects could be utilised for developing village industries should be seriously considered. The community projects and national service schemes have created a revolution in the country and the outlook of the people had been radically changed. The new Committee should consider the question of village industries in relation to raw materials, techniques and cooperatives etc. It was expected that a large measure of agreement would be found out by proper discussion between the members of the Khadi Board and the Planning Commission.

4. The Planning Commission appointed the Village and Small Scale Industries Committee on 28 June 1955, under the Chairmanship of D.G. Karve.

## 6. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

20 July 1955

My dear T.T.,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 20th July about the Industries Advisory Council meeting.<sup>3</sup>

I have read the note you have sent. There is nothing in it with which I disagree, insofar as it goes. Perhaps if I had been writing this, I would have laid a little more stress on our progressively approaching the socialist pattern of society which we aim at. I can conceive of Government starting any kind of industry, that is even that which is not specifically included in the public sector, if it thinks it desirable or profitable to do so. You have hinted at this. It is really a question of emphasis. If through our scientific research or otherwise, we develop a process, I do not see why we should not exploit it through Government.

The real and basic question, which does not immediately arise, is in my mind not merely a question of ownership by Government of certain industries etc. But rather changing gradually the texture of our social set-up from that of

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 26(68)/49-PMS.
2. Union Minister for Commerce and Industry.
3. Krishnamachari had enclosed a draft of his proposed statement on the public and private sectors while reviewing the economic position in the country in the forthcoming meeting of the Industries Advisory Council.



an acquisitive society to a non-acquisitive one. My mind is not clear about steps and processes in this direction. But, apart from this, I am a little worried over big differences in income in India. Ultimately, I suppose it is this difference in income that largely governs the pattern of the society we live in.

I am returning your note.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. Resources for the Second Plan<sup>1</sup>

This matter was mentioned at the meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council today.<sup>2</sup> Some of the Chief Ministers were present there, including the Chief Minister of Hyderabad. I rather think that it would be better for the Finance Minister himself to write to the Chief Ministers again on this subject. There is no point in my acting as an intermediary.

It appeared from the talk we had today that if this matter was explained to them properly, the Chief Ministers were likely to agree to the proposal at least for a period of years, three to five. The Chief Ministers of Bengal and Bombay said that they would reconsider this matter.

The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh told me after the meeting that he was prepared to agree provided other states also agreed.

I suggest, therefore, that the Finance Minister might take up this question directly, explaining to them the position and pointing out that the states concerned would be gainers and not losers by this change.

1. Note to PPS, 24 July 1955. JN Collection.

2. The Standing Committee of the NDC, at its third meeting in New Delhi, confirmed the target of expenditure of Rs 4,300 crore in the public sector during the Second Plan and discussed mobilization of financial resources. The Finance Minister further disclosed that an Inter-State Taxation Council would be set up, as recommended by the Taxation Inquiry Commission, to consider the tapping of tax resources by the Centre and the states. However, several Chief Ministers seemed to favour national levies rather than state levies for raising additional resources. Other proposals included a surcharge on rail transport, state insurance schemes and state lotteries.

## 8. Fertiliser Plants from USSR<sup>1</sup>

...2. I have no doubt that we can obtain fertiliser plants from the Soviet Union, as also other types of machinery. As we are thinking in terms of starting a new fertiliser factory, we should certainly explore further this question of fertiliser plant. As Secretary, Production Ministry,<sup>2</sup> is going to the Soviet Union, he might well enquire more into this matter.

3. The Soviet Government informed me when I was in Moscow<sup>3</sup> that they would do everything in their power to help us in regard to plant, machinery and training technical personnel.

4. At a party given by our Ambassador in Moscow,<sup>4</sup> I introduced members of our team of officials who had gone under the UN technical scheme to some of the top ranking people in the Soviet Union.<sup>5</sup> This was helpful to them later. But even without this, they were getting a good deal of cooperation.

1. Note to K.C. Reddy, Production Minister, 27 July 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. S.S. Khera was the Secretary of the Production Ministry.

3. Nehru was in the USSR from 8 to 23 June 1955.

4. K.P.S. Menon.

5. A group of senior Government officials left for Moscow on 31 May 1955 to study facilities available in the USSR for training Indian nationals under the UN Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

## 9. Nationalisation of Coal Industry<sup>1</sup>

...8. The Prime Minister expressed the view that (1) production of coal has to be stepped up, and (2) the policy of the Government is to have a socialistic pattern of society and that unless there are strong and valid reasons otherwise, the Avadi Resolution<sup>2</sup> should form the basis of the policy to be adopted. He would, however, hesitate to do something which will come in the way of the increased production being achieved. While he was prepared to consider the postponement of nationalisation for a short period, he was strongly against giving long-term guarantees to the private sector....

1. Summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission, 27 July 1955. Extracts.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, p. 255.



## 10. Opening of Durgapur Barrage<sup>1</sup>

The Damodar Valley Project<sup>2</sup> has been one of the major developmental schemes started in new India. It has represented something of the spirit of new India and the whole of India, and perhaps many outside have followed its progress with keen interest.

There is something exhilarating in watching the realisation of a mighty scheme like this which is going to benefit generations of our people. As I have watched this great undertaking grow and complete each stage of its journey, I have felt this exhilaration. In the course of the past few years, I have visited the Damodar Valley on several occasions and seen this transformation taking place. For me this was not only a big thing in itself, but a symbol of something much bigger than we were trying to bring about in India.

Now another stage has been completed and soon our Vice President will open the Durgapur Barrage.<sup>3</sup> On this occasion, I send all my good wishes to those who have laboured in this great work—to the engineers, mechanics, overseers and all other workers, who are jointly responsible for the completion of this task. This will benefit primarily the people of the large area which is the Damodar Valley, but the scheme is bigger than a local scheme. It is one of our great national schemes and so, we can well congratulate the nation on it.

1. Message to P.S. Rau, Chairman, DVC, 29 July 1955. File No. 17(45)/48-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The Damodar Valley Project (Bihar and West Bengal) aimed at construction of (a) multipurpose storage dams with hydro-electric plants, (b) an irrigation project with a network of irrigation canals measuring 1,465 miles. (c) an eighty-five mile long navigation canal, (d) a power transmission grid and (e) thermal power stations to supplement the hydro power plants.
3. The twenty-three crore Durgapur barrage, a part of the DVC Project, was to irrigate over a million acres of arid land in West Bengal and was formally opened by the Vice President, Dr S. Radhakrishnan on 9 August 1955 at Durgapur, eighty miles west of Calcutta.

**11. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
29 July 1955

My dear T.T.,

I learnt the other day that Lever Brothers are trying to utilise our boy scouts for their sales promotion programme.<sup>2</sup> Also, they are printing some textbooks for children, no doubt with the same object in view. I am rather worried at these huge concerns becoming bigger and bigger and establishing monopolies, which certainly must come in the way of the development of Indian industry. I do not know if you have heard about the business of boy scouts etc.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Lever Brothers, a multinational company, had made arrangements with the Bharat Scouts and Guides Association for extensive distribution of samples of their products for which they paid the Association Rs 40/50 per 1,000 samples distributed. They had also used students, YWCA girls and the Yuvak Mandal for this purpose.

**12. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
29 July 1955

My dear Deshmukh,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 28th July about the Ford Foundation's role in our Second Plan. So far as I know, the Ford Foundation has done good work in India and I see no reason why they should not be encouraged to continue their activities here during the next five years also.<sup>3</sup> As you say, it is for us to determine later what exactly their role should be in future.

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Finance Minister.
3. The Ford Foundation provided nearly six million dollars for several projects. It allocated \$2,344,000 to help establish and operate thirty-four centres to train some 7000 village level workers for the Community Development Projects. Further aid was given for establishing fifteen pilot development centres.



If Ensminger<sup>4</sup> wishes to see me, I shall certainly meet him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Douglas Ensminger (1910-89): Rural Sociologist; worked in the US Department of Agriculture on Rural Sociology Extension, 1939-51; Representative of the Ford Foundation for India and Pakistan, 1951-53, and India and Nepal, 1953-70; joined the University of Missouri as Professor of Rural Sociology and Coordinator of Socio-Economic Dynamics 1970-89; author of *Guide to Community Development*, *Guide to Village Level Workers*, *Rural India in Transition*, *Conquest of World Hunger and Poverty* (with B. Paul), *Food Enough or Starvation for Millions*, *India's Roots of Democracy*.

### 13. To K.D. Malaviya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
31 July 1955

My dear Keshava Deva,<sup>2</sup>

After you saw me today, I read your letter of July 31st about the diamond mines in Panna.<sup>3</sup>

As I told you, I am in entire agreement with your suggestion that Government should acquire these. I do not like the idea of such mines being owned by private parties. Please have this matter looked into and prepare a confidential note which I think should be considered first by some of us, like the Finance Minister, Home Minister,<sup>4</sup> Maulana Azad,<sup>5</sup> and later by the Cabinet.

As for your visit abroad, I have already agreed that you should go to the Soviet Union and then to London. I do not think you should extend your tour beyond this for the present.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(73)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Natural Resources.

3. Malaviya had written that the Panna diamond mines, held under the control of Panna Diamond Syndicate, were capable of yielding diamonds worth ten to twelve crore rupees every year for fifty years. He suggested their nationalisation and a bargain with the USSR for 'know how' as the USSR Government was eager to work on these mines because the world production of diamonds was mostly controlled by the USA and the Soviets were not getting even a fraction of what they needed for their machines and tools.

4. G.B. Pant.

5. Union Minister for Education, and Natural Resources and Scientific Research.

## 14. To Ram Subhag Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
1 August 1955

My dear Ram Subhag,<sup>2</sup>

My attention has been drawn to a note on the Indian Companies Bill<sup>3</sup> circulated to the members of the Congress Party in Parliament. I had not seen this before, nor have I read it carefully even now. But, in glancing through it, I have come across a passage on page five in which objection is taken to a cotton mill owned by the Birlas issuing preference shares for a soda ash factory in Saurashtra and some other like developments.<sup>4</sup>

It is not quite clear to me on what basis this objection is made. So far as this particular soda ash factory is concerned, it was started at the invitation of the Saurashtra Government and indeed under some pressure from them. Subsequently, the debentures were issued with the permission of the Central Government.<sup>5</sup>

But, apart from this, the question is whether it is objectionable for a particular concern in India to put in its profits in starting a new concern. Normally speaking, I should have thought that this was a desirable development, helping the growth of industry in the private sector. How else can the private sector grow unless the profits of the existing concerns are allowed to be put in to new concerns?

I am drawing your attention to this single point at present because I do not think that the Congress Party should be committed to a viewpoint which, *prima*

1. JN Collection.
2. (1917-1980): Congress member. Lok Sabha, 1952-1970; Secretary, Congress Parliamentary Party; Cabinet Minister, 1962-69; Leader of opposition in Lok Sabha, 1969-70
3. In order to amend and consolidate the law relating to companies, the Companies Bill, based on the recommendations of the Company Law Committee under the chairmanship of C.H. Bhabha, was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 2 September 1953.
4. The note, circulated by some Congress MPs, stated that Jiyajirao Cotton Mills Ltd., which had Birla Brothers as their Managing Agents, had issued preference shares for Rs one crore to start a soda ash factory in Saurashtra. The Birla Jute Mills was undertaking the construction of a cement factory at Satna in Vindhya Pradesh at the cost of Rs two crores. Dharangadhara Chemicals Ltd. were starting a soda ash factory in Tuticorin at the cost of Rs three crores. These were expansion programmes of the existing companies.
5. G.D. Birla had, in a letter to M.O. Mathai, Nehru's Private Secretary, on 29 July 1955, written that it was depressing to find that some members of the Congress Parliamentary Party "should blame us for doing something which was desired by Government itself. Most of the State Governments were trying to induce industrialists to start something in their particular State to help greater employment."



facie, appears to me to be wrong. The Companies Bill will be coming up for discussion soon, and we must be clear as to our attitude.

I am writing to you as Secretary but, of course, you can show this letter of mine to those concerned.

I am also a little surprised to find that our confidential notes reach newspapers. This must be stopped.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 15. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
2 August 1955

My dear Bidhan,  
Your letter of the 1st August.

It is certainly a good thing for your Legislature to discuss the Second Five Year Plan, but for you to put your draft proposals before them would be unwise. These proposals, as those of other States, might be discussed by you with the Planning Commission here and as a result considerable changes will be made. You know that all the States' proposals amount to about twelve thousand crores. Manifestly, they have to be cut down considerably.

We have had similar requests from other States previously. We have advised them to have a discussion after they have discussed their proposals in the Planning Commission and revised them. I would suggest the same course to you. I gather that the West Bengal proposals will be discussed in the Planning Commission on the 29th and 30th August. You can have your debate after that. There will be some reality in the debate then.

Yours,  
Jawahar

1. File No. 17(5)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to V.T. Krishnamachari.

16. To Khandubhai K. Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

5 August 1955

My dear Khandubhai,

T.T. Krishnamachari has sent me his correspondence with you about the installation of automatic looms in the Wadia Mills, Bombay.<sup>2</sup> After long discussions, we had come to a certain conclusion in Cabinet. This was, that, if a certain assurance was forthcoming that there would be no unemployment, then this change over should be made. Accordingly, this was communicated to Wadia. Now, Ambekar<sup>3</sup> apparently says that because of Kanpur strike etc., he cannot consider this matter. I think that we should face this situation stoutly because our position is a reasonable one. Anyhow, if there is difficulty about this, the matter will have to be considered by the Cabinet.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Khandubhai Desai had written to T.T. Krishnamachari on 4 August about the negotiations being carried out by G.D. Ambekar, President of INTUC, with N.N. Wadia, on behalf of the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh, regarding installation of automatic looms. Ambekar had informed Desai that it would not be possible for him to agree to Wadia's proposals for safeguards against retrenchment, in view of the circumstances created by the Kanpur strike, where too automation and nationalization were the core issues. Krishnamachari replied the next day expressing his disappointment and loss of face, since he had already informed Wadia of the Cabinet decision of 6 December 1954, which stated that with satisfactory guarantees against unemployment, the mills could go ahead with the first stage of automation and expansion.

3. G.D. Ambekar was a trade unionist and had set up Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh.

4. Krishnamachari had felt let down by the attitude of INTUC in this regard, which had practically vetoed any possibility of settlement despite promises of adequate safeguards against resulting unemployment due to automation by the mill owner. He wrote, "it seems now that the Commerce and Industry Minister has to take instructions from INTUC.... The responsibility for industrialization in the country... will then have to be transferred elsewhere." Krishnamachari proposed to bring the matter before the Cabinet, since it was an outright violation of the Cabinet decision of 6 December 1954.



## 17. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12 August 1955

My dear Reddy,

I have been sending you some papers about the proposed fertilizer factory. Yesterday I sent you a letter from the Chief Minister of Rajasthan. Today I had a deputation from the Rajasthan Members of Parliament. I understand they are seeing you tomorrow and they will give you a memorandum, copy of which they gave me.

I do not know how far we have got in this matter and whether any decisions are going to be taken soon. I do not have all the facts before me, but this memorandum from Rajasthan does deserve attention. Other things being equal, I would certainly prefer Rajasthan for the location as a state which has been neglected from this point of view. According to the figures given in this memorandum, the previous calculations were not correct and it will be cheaper to produce fertilizer here.

In view of the various demands made upon us and, more especially because of this Rajasthan's request, I think we should give these people a full chance to put their case before us before a final decision is taken. They should not have a feeling that we have not paid attention to them.

After writing the above, I have seen your letter of today's date on the subject.<sup>2</sup> In this letter, you mention that on considerations of overall economy, your Committee did not consider Rajasthan site as feasible. These figures are challenged by the Rajasthan people and, therefore, deserve more study.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(41)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to V.T. Krishnamachari.
2. Reddy had written on 12 August that after discussing various proposals, the Fertilizer Production Committee had selected eleven sites including Hanumangarh in Rajasthan as worthy of serious and detailed study. However, on considerations of overall economy the Committee had not recommended setting up of a factory at Hanumangarh as proposed by the Rajasthan Government.

18. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12 August 1955

My dear Bidhan,

Reddy showed me your letter to him about the coal matter. We had discussion today in the Planning Commission about it also. In the course of this discussion, we looked through, rather hurriedly, your legislation and agreement in regard to the Calcutta Tramways,<sup>2</sup> to which you referred in your letter as an example to be followed.

I have not carefully examined this Act or the agreement but, from a rather hurried reading of them, I must confess that I did not like them at all. A twenty years' agreement with compensation to be paid at the end of twenty years fixed now, seems to me unnecessary and not at all advantageous to the State. What will happen in twenty years' time, I cannot say, but I am quite positive that even within ten years the face of India will be different and all kinds of things will have happened. Any commitment for long period is, therefore, not desirable, unless circumstances compel us.

Insofar as the coal question is concerned, our thinking at present is along these lines:

- (1) we shall work our own coal mines of course, as well as such other unused areas which we require for our extension;
- (2) we shall give no guarantee for any period in regard to nationalisation to any concern;
- (3) we shall, however, make it clear that we require additional coal production, and we will welcome private owners to bring this about in their concerns. In regard to any additional capital expenditure for new plants etc., we shall assure them that, in the event of nationalisation, whenever that takes place, this expenditure will be made good subject to depreciation etc;
- (4) in the event of any existing coal-mine wanting to use unused areas, each case will be considered on its merits and decided accordingly;

1. File No. 17(213)/50-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to K.C. Reddy.  
2. The Calcutta Tramways Company set up in England in 1879 to provide tram services to the city of Calcutta was taken over by the West Bengal Government in 1967 and fully acquired in 1976.



(5) the Government of India and the state concerned will confer together in regard to any action that is to be taken. There is no desire on the part of the Government of India to deprive the states of the proprietary rights that they may possess, but it may be necessary to build up some authority with which both the Government of India and the states are associated in order to bring about certain uniformity and;

(6) there will have to be some amalgamation of the smaller coal-fields.

We are thinking on these lines. We shall, of course, consult you before final decisions are taken.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 19. To Pitambar Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 August 1955

My dear Pitambar,<sup>2</sup>

Your note<sup>3</sup> of the 15th August together with a copy of Professor Mahalanobis's letter.<sup>4</sup>

... I can understand his feeling frustrated and complaining about various pulls in different directions. But I think he ignores the fact that these pulls are inevitable in a democratic set-up such as we are. We cannot function in the

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Pitambar Pant was personal secretary to Nehru in the Planning Commission.

3. Reacting to T.T. Krishnamachari's and V.K.R.V. Rao's articles in newspapers and G.D. Birla's address to Commerce Graduates Association on 29 July 1955 about private and public sectors, Pant had commented that their relative importance was fundamental for subsequent plans, though "the Planning Commission has not yet had the opportunity of applying its mind fully to it."

4. On 12 August 1955, Mahalanobis, had expressed doubts about continuing his association with the Planning Commission. He wrote: "In planning there must be some agreement about basic aims and policies.... What I am afraid of is that when the Prime Minister is present certain decisions will be made, followed by steady and continuing sabotage from within." He wrote that this happened to the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 and was likely to happen to the decision about socialistic pattern of society. "That is, there may be emphatic talk and great noise about socialistic advance, with further renewed and vigorous expansion of the private sector in practice."

Soviet way. As a matter of fact, there are pulls enough within the Soviet framework. Only they do not shout about it. Occasionally strong action is taken against one or a group of individuals. On the surface everything is quiet. Here everybody can shout and speak. Difficulties are inherent in the situation here. But I see no reason for frustration or extreme worry about them. The only thing is that we should do our job as well as we can. Any other procedure would create far more difficulties.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 20. Companies Bill<sup>1</sup>

...Now to continue the discussion on the Company Bill,<sup>2</sup> this is the third meeting that we are having of the party to consider this matter. Many members, specially members from the Rajya Sabha, had not obviously been present earlier. As a matter of fact even other members, many of them were not present on previous occasions. Now in the first meeting, a number of members spoke and ultimately we came to the decision that certain points might be specified and that we should discuss these points instead of generally speaking on the whole gamut of all these articles of the Company Bill. Therefore, some points should be noted and we can consider those points specifically. Therefore, when we met on the last occasion and in our second meeting, certain points were suggested by Mr Gadgil,<sup>3</sup> and we noted them down and considered the first two points. I should read out these points. I might also point out that it is not, well, hardly appropriate now for us to go right out of the framework of the Bill and condemn the whole Bill lock, stock and barrel. That does not help at all. Here we are considering it. It is really with a view to amend the Bill where amendment is necessary that we have to consider it. Now, these are the six points which are suggested:

1. Speech in the Congress Parliamentary Board Meeting, 16 August 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.
2. See *ante*, p. 97.
3. N.V. Gadgil, a member of the Lok Sabha, had suggested these points in the second meeting held on 11 August 1955.



- 1) Fixing a time limit for Managing Agency System.<sup>4</sup>
- 2) Whether the Central authority<sup>5</sup> should be a corporate body or a department of the Government.
- 3) Limitation of pocket or remuneration,<sup>6</sup> this refers to a Government amendment to clause 197.
- 4) To clause 611: whether differential treatment should be given to Government companies.
- 5) Election of directors<sup>7</sup> by method of proportional representation.
- 6) Definition of associates of managing agents.<sup>8</sup>

Now we discussed on the last occasion these two points; (1) fixing a time limit for the Managing Agency System; (2) whether the central authority should be a corporate body or a department of the Government. And the general sense of the meeting then was that we should adhere to what has been said in the Bill in regard to these two points. Am I right in this issue? That is to say, it was pointed out that fixing a time, and the time limit usually suggested were ten years. Now it was also felt that in any event ten years might be considered too long a time. If you fix a limit you really commit yourself to a period, it might, well, be less, or it might be too long. The point is to have the authority to do it by Parliament and to limit them and to try to put an end to their abuses, as far as possible, and then have authority to put an end to them completely or partially as time goes. That is, you are committing yourself to a period is, from any point of view, not advantageous and ties your hands.

The second thing, whether the Central authority should be a corporate body or a department of the Government. It was pointed out that this was not a kind of thing like let us say, the Damodar Valley Corporation. It is something entirely different, it is not like Sindri. You have a particular concern which you make into an autonomous organisation. It deals with policy matters which an autonomous organisation can hardly deal with, it is a different thing, it lays

4. Managing Agency system is a form of group management for promotion, financing and administration by a single managing agency house, of a number of companies, which is designed to economise overhead costs, maintain efficiency and provide technicians and specialist services of a standard which the average-sized unit of industry cannot afford. However improper use of their powers by the managing agents to their own enrichment and detriment of the managed company brought discredit on the system.
5. Central Government authority for administration of the Company Law.
6. Overall maximum for the managerial remuneration payable to the directors of company, managing agent, secretaries and treasurers, and manager.
7. Directors of Company.
8. Since restrictions on particular activities of managing agents were pointless if they could be legally avoided through the agency of their "associates", it was considered necessary to define "associates" and by intending certain restrictions to this category.

down broad policies, important policies which necessarily have to be dealt with by the Government. You can hardly ask any corporation, however good it might be, to lay down broad policies to govern all companies and all that. Therefore, while autonomous corporations may be good and are good I believe, for particular concerns in this particular matter they would be dealing with what might be considered normally prerogative of the government to lay down broad policies. Therefore, the general sense was that this should be left as it is in the Bill.

Now there were four other points noted down for discussion. One was the proposed Government amendment to clause 197. That is in regard to remuneration and the other points were, I shall repeat, clause 617, as to whether preferential treatment should be given to Government companies and election of directors by method of proportional representation and, definition of associate of managing agents. These are the four matters to be considered. I do not however necessarily rule out any other matter that might be raised, but we propose to take them up one by one instead of having a huge discussion. Let us, therefore, take up this question of Government amendment to clause 197 in regard to limitation of remuneration.

... See, how we get on with this Company Law business and then revert to that subject which Shri Algurai Shastri mentioned.<sup>9</sup> ... Mr Tripathi<sup>10</sup> has written to me a letter in which, he says that the Finance Minister in his speech on the above bill in Parliament,<sup>11</sup> suggested a sort of five year probation for the managing agency system, after which period it would be reviewed as to whether the system had functioned better under the new law. That presupposes two things. That misbehaviour was the only change and that no decision was made for the abolition of the system. But so far as I know, concentration of wealth in a few hands was the other, and equally important change which became more important after the decision about the socialist pattern. Secondly a tacit understanding was arrived at between the parties in the Joint Select Committee for the gradual abolition of the system, and the pace of abolition was left to the Government to determine and that is the only interpretation of the clause which empowers the Government to abolish this.

9. Algurai Shastri had said that it was desirable to give consideration to the situation in Bihar and Bombay where mob violence had created shock waves in the country, in this meeting rather continuing discussion on the Companies Bill.

10. K.P. Tripathi (b. 1910); arrested during Quit India Movement, 1942; President, Assam branch of INTUC, 1947; Vice-President, INTUC, 1950-53 and its General Secretary, 1953 and 1954; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57; author of *Approaching Crisis in Labour-Capital Relationship in Plantations of Asia—An Appeal to the Conscience of the World*; and *Wage in National Policy*.

11. On 10 August 1955.



Now, I do not know exactly what troubles Mr Tripathi. The Finance Minister said that after five years we may consider this; that does not mean that we are prohibited or inhibited from taking steps between the five year period, whatever we consider. I take it that the general approach is, of ending this system—exactly in what stages one cannot say. How, of course, many restrictions are put on it here and now, but for the moment it was thought after much consideration that ending it suddenly would have greater disadvantages than advantages, and therefore, this limited scope was given to it to function, keeping in Government's hands to end it at any time it chose for any industry or ultimately for the whole lot, if necessary. Nobody prevents Government from doing that.

I said a few words not on this matter, but generally. I confess that in this matter I was not a competent person to give a firm opinion. About broad principles of course, one can. I am so utterly ignorant of companies from any point of view, from the managing director's or the worker's point of view, I can only speak in generalities and therefore, broadly speaking, I said I have been trying to agree to what a very big Select Committee after much labour has proposed.<sup>12</sup> But in regard to what Mr Tripathi said, now most of his premises I feel, are correct, but I do feel also that a rigidity in making this matter rigid may very well create difficulties for us. Now all that is sought in this amendment of the Finance Minister is to prevent that absolute rigidity. Now certain cases have been pointed out to me, in which by the working of this clause it will be practically impossible for them to get really qualified, technically qualified persons. Technical people—by technical, I include managerial competence too—are very difficult to get; they are rather rare and we dare not lose them. Now here we build the Bhakra Nangal. We get a man,<sup>13</sup> I forget how much we pay him, well it is a colossal sum and I have no doubt in my mind that he is worth it, there the matter ends. Because if we do not have him, the scheme of more than hundred crores may be jeopardized. He has in fact in the very first three months saved us many lakhs of rupees just by suggesting a new method of approach. He saved us more than two years' salary, straightaway, although his salary runs into lakhs. He is an odd man, he has no degree or diploma of engineering, he is a man risen from the ranks through sheer ability, he is the biggest construction engineer in the United States. He has worked himself up,

12. A Joint Select Committee of both the Houses had examined a number of witnesses and carefully scrutinised all the clauses and schedules of the Companies Bill in sixty-one sittings spread over a year. C.D. Deshmukh had placed its report on 10 August 1955 in the Lok Sabha for consideration. The Joint Committee had prepared amendments to 170 clauses out of 649. Of these about fifty clauses dealt with controversial provisions relating to directors and managing agents.

13. The reference is to Harvey Slocum, the US expert in construction of dam.

he has no education in the normal sense of the word—I mean to say college or anything—but he knows his job and he works hard. And he works like a common worker though he may get ten times the salary of a general manager. He is the Adviser. And he is annoyed if he sees others not working hard, but we pay him because we think him worthwhile. We just do not want to take that little bit of risk. We got another man in the Damodar Valley, Komora,<sup>14</sup> also whom we pay pretty handsomely. These are exceptional cases but as I said, that applies even to highly skilled management. I tell you what happens in our system I won't mention any name. The man who was very qualified man, who was engaged in the telephone company previously, the Bombay telephone or some telephones: this was made into a Government concern later. So he became a Government servant automatically. He reached the age of fifty-five and was asked to go away. He was a man who could hardly be replaced. Then he was employed by the Government as a great favour for a year's extension. Then he was pushed out completely. Now we cannot get a man like that. The man was immediately picked up on by a private person who gave him a ten-year contract and a much higher salary. You see, it shows how our rules work. Here is a man who was not getting too high a salary, it is not a question of salary, the age limit applied. Now our pushing out people because of age limit—a highly competent person who is keen on working, who even went so far as to say, "give me a lesser salary I am interested in the job, I do not want to leave" but no, age limit was applied, off you go. But I think the public sector would not function if we do this kind of thing and really competent men are pushed out at the age of fifty-five, just because of the age limit, when such men are rare. However, so I think that in this matter, rigidity would be a bad thing and some flexibility should be given as the Finance Minister said. So far as he can see, it applies to a small percentage and even there objections were raised as to whether they should be given more than they get now, and the case was brought before me and persons who are getting something in the region of, I forget now, four to five thousands a month could be reduced to 700/- a month.

I expressly said there are such things as managerial experts. This is a matter on which I don't know how we can give a precise answer. It depends on the complexity of the job, the experience and the volume of work—all kinds of things.

The question of confidence arises in every clause of this Bill. A government or a Minister if he is not careful, cautious, if he is negligent, all kinds of consequences will show in a hundred ways. You can even by one or two steps commit the country to a war....

14. A.M. Komora, Chief Engineer, DVC.



Of course, whatever is considered necessary, the amendments committee could consider it or the Executive Committee later. Those are the various processes to which Mr Tripathi referred when we mentioned the socialist pattern of society, accumulation of and prevention of accumulation of wealth. Now you will have noticed that I do not think, if I may say so, that we try to prevent accumulation of wealth. But I do not think that how long you keep the managing system has any direct relevance to this matter. I do not think that in a socialist pattern of society the managing agency system is likely to find any place at all. It does not matter and therefore, as that pattern develops, the whole structure of society will be different. But when a person is anxious to know from the Finance Minister about what he said, that is, that he would review the question in five years' time, perhaps you have forgotten that the amendments put forward have been for the abolition of managing agency system in ten years. Actually those who wanted it to end put forward the limit of ten years but it seemed to me binding ourselves down to something which we may not intend doing at all, that is carry it on for ten years. So when the Finance Minister pointed out that of course we can do it earlier, he referred to five years, in terms really of the Five Year Plan too. Because we are thinking more and more on that. I do not think it has too much relevance except that it would certainly try to improve this Bill where it is capable of improvement. But what I want to refer to you is this. I have seen in a number of periodicals, sometimes in newspapers, attacks on certain proposals in regard to the Second Five Year Plan, attacks on the fact that we are trying to concentrate on the development of heavy industry. No, they said this will not do. If you concentrate on heavy industry and if you have all kinds of rules and regulations, this means too much leftism, too much authoritarianism and all that. And the Soviet Union is brought into the picture and China and all that. Now all this amazes me very greatly. Instead of considering the question on merits, the Planning Commission may decide this or that, but I can assure you, it is not governed by any doctrinaire approach to the problem. It considers the question on the merits keeping in view the final objectives of a socialist pattern no doubt, and keeping in view of how to lay a strong basis for the development of our economy and our productive system. After having laid stress in the first five years on agriculture, as well as on the development of electric power, hydro-electricity etc., we have a firm agricultural base. Now we have come to the stage when we can advance more firmly on the industrial base. Now I put it to you that there can be no advance at all of this country no matter how many factories you have, unless you have heavy industry. To talk about the development of light industry all over and no heavy industry means that you are always dependent, that you in fact are a dependent country, in any sense of the word, whether in terms of defence or in anything else. It is a basic thing today. But why do we criticise? Because the Soviet Union laid stress on heavy industry

being a communist country, therefore, we should not. It is a most extraordinary way of looking at things. You will find that most of these criticisms come from the people who object to the very basic concept, first of all, of a socialist pattern. Secondly, we have a strange idea of producing consumer goods now and thereby, may be, pleasing people because they get some consumer goods here, and not looking at the end as has inevitably to be looked. Apart from the question of independence, political or social or economic, you just cannot develop economically strongly, unless you have that big heavy industry base. This matter was again considered in the meeting of the National Development Council because some people had objected to this stress on heavy industry, and the National Development Council decided unanimously ultimately, that we must do that because there is no other way, no other escape from it. Every country, whether it is capitalist or communist or socialist in the world, which is trying to develop, is laying stress on that. There is no escape from that. Some people again, from an entirely different point of view, from the point of view of cottage industries, object to the development of heavy industries. All I can say is that they really could not have considered this question fully from the point of view of an independent country relying on itself. Where will your cottage industry be if you are dependent on other countries all the time. Your whole economy will be a dependent economy; you cannot escape it. Therefore, I should like you to remember the basic thing that really if you are going to have a socialistic pattern, you cannot have it based on poverty and based on low standards and all that. You will be weak, you will always be pushed around in terms of seeking help from others and thereby, becoming more and more dependent. We are sometimes laying stress on matters of relevance no doubt, but not of too great importance, the real thing is to build up this foundation from which independence comes, the socialist pattern comes, and higher standard ultimately comes; of course this is a hard period, no doubt.

## 21. To V.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17 August 1955

My dear V.T.,

In looking through some of the reports from the Planning Commission containing the discussions you were having with the States, I found some references to the community projects which rather surprised me. It was even

1. File No. 17(5)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.



stated in the course of the discussion that the community projects as such were no longer necessary.

I thought that this question had been finally decided at the meeting of the National Development Council<sup>2</sup> when you yourself said that community projects and the national extension scheme were both essential in the proportion that we have previously laid down for them. I hope there is no suggestion to change this policy and programme.

Personally, as I have said to you previously, I attach the greatest importance to these community projects. Quite apart from the programme of development, which of course is important, I look upon them as the chief method for us to counter certain dangerous tendencies which are spreading in India. There is increasing recurrence of violence. It is true that this usually takes place in towns and the community projects and the NES apply to the rural areas. But this tendency to violence will spread to the villages too, unless we work there intensively.

In the NEFA where we are having trouble,<sup>3</sup> we have found that where there is a Community Project Scheme, it helps more in bringing people round than armed forces. Not only are they engaged in some kind of work, but they are deeply interested in it and gradually they develop a constructive outlook. The NES of course is very useful and must be spread. But it does not lead to that particular urge which more intensive work in the community project leads to.

I have been much troubled by student riots in Bihar and elsewhere as well as these hartals and the like.<sup>4</sup> They require many remedies, but one important thing, it seems to me, is to develop our rural areas through community projects.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 24 July 1955.

3. Increase in incidents of violence were reported from NEFA. See *post*, pp. 131-133.

4. See *ante*, p. 57.

22. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
18 August 1955

My dear Deshmukh,

You will remember the talk we had, sometimes ago, about consulting occasionally some leaders of industry in the private sector. This was in consequence of an approach by them and we told them that we would gladly give them opportunities for such consultation from time to time. This would naturally be on an informal basis, and it was not even necessary that you should consult the same group always. Too big a group would make it too formalised. Too small a group might limit it to just a few only and it would be desirable not to give the impression that we are confined to just a few. Of course, some important persons would probably be always there and others may be added to them from time to time.

NEW DELHI  
18 August 1955

My dear Deshmukh,

You will remember the talk we had, sometimes ago, about consulting occasionally some leaders of industry in the private sector. This was in consequence of an approach by them and we told them that we would gladly give them opportunities for such consultation from time to time. This would naturally be on an informal basis, and it was not even necessary that you should consult the same group always. Too big a group would make it too formalised. Too small a group might limit it to just a few only and it would be desirable not to give the impression that we are confined to just a few. Of course, some important persons would probably be always there and others may be added to them from time to time.

I told them that they could always bring any matter they wanted to our notice. Also, if any individual wanted to see you or me, he could do so subject to a convenient time being fixed. Further, I said that those in Bombay or Calcutta could refer any particular matter to the Chief Minister there who would inform us of it.

You wrote to me on this subject indicating the broad lines on which we might do this kind of consultation and I agreed with it. Some week or ten days ago, the Congress President, U.N. Dhebar, was in Bombay<sup>2</sup> and he and Morarji Desai met a number of people who wished to see them. Among them were Chandravarkar,<sup>3</sup> G.D. Birla, J.R.D. Tata, Mody<sup>4</sup> and a few others whose names for the moment I do not remember. They first discussed, I understand, our general approach to socialist pattern etc. J.R.D. Tata and Modi were very gloomy about it and thought the future held out little hope. Some others, including G.D. Birla, took up a different attitude and said that they must adapt themselves to changing conditions and accept the major policies laid down by the Government of the country; or else there would be no scope left at all for them to function properly. This was the trend of the time etc. Ultimately, I am told, J.R.D. Tata and Modi, though perhaps not wholly convinced, toned down somewhat. Then there was some discussion about the Company Bill and various



criticisms were made. The criticisms put forward were more or less the same basic ones that the Millowners Association had previously sent us. It was pointed out to them that it was no good attacking the major provisions of this Bill which had gone through the Select Committee and had been generally accepted. Also, there was a strong feeling in the country and Parliament about it. We must accept them. The long note of criticisms on the Company Bill was, therefore, put aside.

Then G.D. Birla said that if they accepted the basis of the Company Law Bill, they would like petty obstructions in the way of their working to be removed as far as possible so that these might not come in the way of their functioning. They were keen to go ahead fast and to fulfil what was demanded of them under the Second Five Year Plan. They hoped to do that, but petty procedures and others might well come in their way and delay matters and generally produce a sense of frustration. Ultimately, he produced that small note, a copy of which I gave to you which, according to him, dealt with relatively minor matters which might come in their way.<sup>5</sup> I am giving you this background information so that you may have before you the genesis of that note. This note reached me only a few hours before I gave it to you.

The Congress President has told me that some of these people would like to meet me when I go to Bombay next. This has nothing to do with the Company Law Bill. As a matter of fact, there is no question of my going to Bombay for at least two months. No date has been settled yet. If I go to Bombay and they wish to see me, of course, I shall see them.

There was some talk among the Bombay people for a few of them to come here in connection with the Company Law Bill, but they were dissuaded from doing this as they had already done it previously and it would create no good impression for them to come at this late stage on this particular issue.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. While welcoming many provisions of the Companies Bill to ensure maintenance of standards of good behaviour in company management, G.D. Birla pointed out that certain clauses of the Bill without giving any special protection to the shareholders, were likely to create "intrigue, blackmailing and harassment," thereby jeopardising smooth management of company. These clauses related to "associates" to the managing agents, private proxies, Government's power to investigate the affairs of a company, limit on donations by companies to charities, loans to the corporate bodies, Central Government's approval to the changes in the constitution of managing agency firm or corporation, power to a single shareholder to proceed against the directors or other officers.

## 23. Development of Mineral Resources<sup>1</sup>

The proposal to send a small delegation headed by the Minister for Natural Resources, Shri Keshava Deva Malaviya, to the USSR has been before us for some months past.<sup>2</sup> In fact, this was discussed by me with him before I went to the Soviet Union. When I was there, I had some discussions with the Soviet authorities about the development of our mineral resources and, more particularly, about the equipment and the techniques and training for this purpose. Our UN Technical Mission was there at the time<sup>3</sup> and I specially instructed them to look into this matter to the extent they could in the time at their disposal. I put them in touch with some of the leading authorities there. They have done some of this work and reported on it.

2. I felt that the development of these mineral resources and especially oil is of great and urgent importance, and that it would be helpful to us for the Minister to go himself to the Soviet Union, accompanied by a few experts. The information we have gathered from the Technical Mission's report is of some help, but it has to be followed up. I told the Soviet Union authorities that our Minister will be going there soon.

3. I think, therefore, that it is necessary and desirable for the Minister to go for this important work, and there should be no delay in this. I do not agree with the Finance Ministry that it is premature to send such a delegation.

4. The summary that had been prepared by the Ministry of NR & SR, however, contained some matters with which I was not in full agreement. I do not think it is desirable for the Minister and the Secretary to be away at the same time, even though a new full Secretary is going to be appointed soon who will be in charge of the Ministry. The delegation to Canada,<sup>4</sup> therefore, should not go till afterwards and till the Minister has returned from the Soviet Union.

5. I did not agree either with the proposal for purchases to be made directly

1. Note, 18 August 1955. File No. 1(46)-Eur/55. MEA.
2. A proposal to send a delegation of experts under K.D. Malaviya to USSR for two weeks to study development of mineral resources in USSR was awaiting Cabinet's approval.
3. A team of Indian technical officers was in the USSR in June 1955 under the auspices of UN Technical Assistance Branch to which the Soviet Government made contributions.
4. A proposal to send a similar delegation, as suggested by the Canadian Government, to go into details of organisation, administration, training, planning, research, rules and regulation in mineral development was to be submitted to the Cabinet after the return of the Indian delegation from the USSR.



in London as suggested in the previous summary. The Minister can look into this matter certainly while he is there but, on his return, the normal procedure should be followed.

6. I think it is conceivable that some of the equipment, especially drills etc., which we need so much, can be manufactured in our ordnance factories. Naturally, they will not be able to manufacture them straightaway without some help, but it should certainly be helpful and should expedite matters if an officer from an ordnance factory could also see how these drills etc. were made there and discuss the matter with the experts in the Soviet Union. Decisions cannot be arrived at straight off and it may be necessary for some expert in drill manufacture to come here later.

7. At my suggestion, the Ministry of NR & SR has re-drafted the summary.

8. I think that as re-drafted, this should be approved. I hardly think that there is anything more urgent at the present moment than the development of mineral resources, and any delay might well be harmful.

9. This note might be sent to the Finance Ministry. Later, when the matter comes up before the Cabinet, it may be included in the papers.

## 24. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

25 August 1955

My dear Bidhan,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 15th August in which you refer to the desirability of authorising some private concerns to put up an iron and steel plant and you say that they have told you that they can start functioning and delivering goods within twenty four months.<sup>2</sup> I confess I do not understand this nor am I prepared to take their word for it in this way.

Thus, quite apart from the question of principle involved, and we cannot ignore this principle easily, the question arises of the practical aspect of the

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to T.T. Krishnamachari.

2. Roy had suggested that in order to increase iron and steel production in the country those private concerns should be authorised to put up iron and steel plants who would give guarantee for starting production in twenty-four months and would hand over control of plant to the Government within twenty-five years. This policy was followed by West Bengal Government in regard to Calcutta Tramways Company and by the Central Government with regard to an oil company. This policy, Roy pointed out, might be regarded technically an infringement of Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 but may be followed in public interest.

proposal. I think we were very slow in dealing with this question of iron and steel in the past and we lost valuable time. But the question at present is what we are to do now. We have given a good deal of thought to it in recent months and, as you know, a special Ministry of Iron & Steel has been established.<sup>3</sup> T.T. Krishnamachari is very anxious to expedite this business and to produce steel as soon as possible. Apart from the three new steel plants, we have encouraged Tatas and others<sup>4</sup> to extend their plants and we are trying our utmost to see that this whole process starts functioning as soon as possible. It seems to me that these vague suggestions put forward by some Indian industrialists probably in the hope that some Americans will give them full assistance are not very reliable. They are far too much in the air and we are likely to get entangled in difficulties.

However, I am sending a copy of your letter to T.T. Krishnamachari.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. By a Presidential Order of 29 May 1955, the Ministry of Iron and Steel came into being on 14 June 1955 with T.T. Krishnamachari as Minister in charge.
4. To meet the increasing demand for steel, the Government of India was following a two-fold policy: (1) helping the existing private units to expand their capacity, and (2) setting up new steel plants in public sector. Of the existing 139 private iron and steel works in India, the most important were TISCO, IISCO with which SCOB was merged in 1952 and Mysore Iron and Steel Works. The enhanced production by 1957-58 was expected to be 1,650 tons of finished steel and 750 tons of pig iron.

## 25. Community Development in Second Plan<sup>1</sup>

... The Chairman<sup>2</sup> pointed out that, as the schemes were executed by the States, it did not really matter whether the Ministry of Food and Agriculture or the CPA administered the provision for minor irrigation schemes.<sup>3</sup> The advantage in entrusting the work to the CPA was that they functioned through Development Commissioners and Project Executive Officers in States, and the amounts

1. Summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission (Central Committee for Community Projects and NES), 26 August 1955. File No. Plan/100/1/55, Planning Commission. Extracts.
2. Jawaharlal Nehru.
3. The Food Minister had suggested that there should be a committee to coordinate the allocations to the States for minor irrigation schemes.



provided went automatically to the blocks. These officers would be able to enlist the cooperation of villagers and get contributions from them by way of labour, land and money.

...7. The Chairman thought that the CPA should function as an agent on behalf of all the Central Ministries concerned. The schemes were executed by the State Governments and the CPA should function as a link between the State Development Commissioners' organisations and the Central Ministries....

10. The Chairman said that community projects were extremely important as they are intended to bring about a radical change in the outlook of the people. The programme was receiving increasing attention in foreign countries. He mentioned in this connection that there was a proposal to hold an international conference on community projects in India next year; this conference would facilitate exchange of ideas with countries like Mexico, Puerto Rico, etc....

12. The Chairman said that three questions had to be considered—the total amount available, how this amount should be spread out between NES and community projects and, thirdly, the impact of community projects. If a job could not be done in a stated period of time, the time could be extended. The most important aspect was quality. An important decision which has to be taken was the proportion between community projects and NES blocks in the programme for the Second Five Year Plan. This programme was providing considerable effect in the rural parts of the country. States had reacted strongly in favour of the proposals put forward to them for covering the entire country by the NES blocks and for providing for the intensive development of half the NES blocks. Some organisational changes might be necessary as a result of the entire country being covered by the NES. He felt that the proportion between the number of community project blocks and the National Extension Service blocks was important and should not be lowered. If there were limitations of finance, they could consider extending the time during which the country was, to be covered by the National Extension Service rather than alter the proportion in which intensive development was undertaken....

The Chairman said that there should be some sort of relationship between the NES and community project blocks. The proposal which had been made was in favour of a proportion of two to one.<sup>4</sup> Depending upon the resources available, the actual proportion could be a little more or a little less. He thought that a programme like NES and community projects could not be thought of in term of a five years programme; if need be, the period could well be extended....

The Chairman agreed and observed that the Chief Ministers of States might have a good deal to say on the subject and that they should be consulted.

4. According to the proposal of Community Projects Administration, as against 2,800 NES blocks there would be 1,400 community project blocks during the Second Plan.

## II. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 1. Indian Film Festival in China<sup>1</sup>

I agree that, if possible, we should agree to have an Indian Film Festival in China<sup>2</sup> and send a number of selected films as well as some persons connected with them. As we know, some Indian films, notably *Awara*<sup>3</sup> and *Do Bigha Zamin*,<sup>4</sup> are very popular in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia. In selecting films, one should of course choose those of artistic merit. But we might remember that films like *Awara* are much appreciated. There is a lack of these musical comedies with songs etc., in these countries.

As for the persons accompanying, I think that Prithviraj Kapoor<sup>5</sup> should certainly be the first choice. If Devika Rani<sup>6</sup> goes, well and good. I might point out that it is not quite correct to say that Devika Rani organised the film seminar.<sup>7</sup> It would be more correct to say that she played a very prominent part. After the film seminar, many of the people connected with it quarrelled with each other.

In making any choice of people, I think Prithviraj Kapoor should be consulted. He should indeed be the leader of this group.<sup>8</sup>

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary. 14 July 1955. JN Collection.
2. The Indian film festival opened in Beijing on 15 October 1955.
3. Produced in 1951 and also known as *The Tramp* or *The Vagabond*, *Awara* was a black and white film on class division in India.
4. *Two Acres of Land* or *Do Bigha Zamin*, a black and white film, directed by Bimal Roy in 1953, was a realist-drama about a peasant's struggle to repay the debt to retain his ancestral two acres of land. It won prizes at Cannes and Karlovy Vary.
5. (1906-72); Indian stage and film actor; acted in first Indian talkie, *Alam Ara*; established Prithvi Theatre for staging plays in 1944; best known performance was in the role of Porus.
6. Devika Rani Roerich was the legendary heroine of Indian talkies.
7. A film seminar was held in New Delhi from 27 February to 4 March, 1955. See also *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 28, pp. 441-447.
8. The Indian film delegation, led by Prithviraj Kapoor, with Krishan Chander, B.N. Sirkar and Balraj Sahni among others as members visited China for the Indian film festival.



## 2. Evil Influences of Mass Media on Children<sup>1</sup>

I understand that the Education Ministry has made a proposal to set up a national autonomous organisation with the purpose of protecting children from evil influences of mass means of communications, such as press, radio and films.<sup>2</sup> I am rather alarmed at this proposal. What exactly is it? I do not understand why all kinds of additional organisations should be created, nor do I like at all the approach to this question as indicated in this description.

2. Please send me particulars about this proposal.<sup>3</sup>

1. Note to the Education Ministry, 19 July 1955. File No. 40(69)56-PMS.
2. Durgabai Deshmukh, Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board, informed Nehru about this on 18 July.
3. K.G. Saiyidain, Secretary and Educational Adviser, Government of India explained in a note to Nehru that the Education Ministry was considering the proposal for a national advisory body for protecting children from the undesirable influences of mass media and UNESCO was examining the question of setting up an international body for similar purposes, and felt that it would be effective only when supported by national organisations and had made enquiries from the Government of India in this regard.

## 3. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
26 July 1955

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>2</sup>

I find that in most of our universities record entries have been announced.<sup>3</sup> As it is, they are overcrowded. They have neither proper accommodation nor proper tuition. It is surprising, therefore, that more and more of them are taken in, whether we can provide for them or not.

I have read in the papers that education in socialism is going to be given in the Lucknow University. What exactly this means, I do not quite understand.

I do not quite know what the state of affairs is at present in universities in

1. File No. 40(53)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of UP.
3. According to a statistical survey by the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, 3,96,532 students were on rolls in 1955-56 as against 3,70,594 in 1954-55 at the Intermediate level in both Arts and Sciences. At the BA and BSc (Pass and Hons.) level, 1,50,749 students were enrolled in 1955-56 as against 1,33,900 in 1954-55.

the UP but from various references I gather that there are deep rumblings and ferment.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes, warnings are issued to the students. I suppose these are necessary. But ultimately they will not take one far. One has to influence their minds and win them over and not merely tell them just to behave.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. For example, students in Gorakhpur and Allahabad had been agitating for a decrease in fee and more seats even though their target had been overshot. Earlier in the year, the students had disturbed the convocation ceremony of Allahabad University. In fact Nehru wrote to O.P. Bhatnagar, General Secretary of Allahabad University Staff Club, on 29 March 1955 (not printed): "For a long time past I have been deeply distressed about the behaviour of students, and indeed some teachers, in the Allahabad University.... If something goes wrong, it is no good blaming the students. It is the authorities who have failed to come up to the standard expected of them."

#### 4. History of the Freedom Movement Project<sup>1</sup>

I shall be grateful if I am kept informed about the progress of the work done by the Board of Editors appointed for the history of the freedom movement in India.<sup>2</sup> I take it that they have collected valuable material. Has this task been completed or not? It would, of course, be desirable to complete this collection as far as possible. This will form the basis of any future action.

2. I gather that various State Governments at our request also appointed committees for this purpose.

3. The question will later arise as to what to do with this material. The task of writing the history is an exceedingly difficult one and great care will have to be exercised as to how this is to be done and who is to do it.

4. To begin with, I suppose, it would be desirable to have a concise summary prepared of all the material that has been collected.

1. Note to the Minister of Education, 30 July 1955. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to Dr Syed Mahmud.
2. A Central Board of Editors was set up in 1952, with Syed Mahmud as Chairman and S.N. Ghose as secretary, on the recommendation of an expert committee headed by Tara Chand for preparing an authentic and comprehensive history of the Indian struggle for independence. The Board functioned for three years and with the help of its regional committees, collected a large volume of material.



## 5. Utilization of Foreign-Trained Technical Personnel<sup>1</sup>

I have often met young students who have returned after training from abroad and were in search of some work in India. Sometimes they have waited for months and years, even though they were Government scholars who had been sent specially for particular training.

On the other hand, we are badly in need of trained personnel, in particular, in the scientific and technical fields. There, thus, appears to be some hiatus somewhere. I suggest that steps be taken to remove this gap so that we should know exactly where we are in regard to the training of our young men and young women and their absorption as soon as they are qualified. Delay in absorbing them is not only harmful to us directly, but sometimes leads to these people seeking work in foreign countries.

I am particularly concerned with those who are receiving training in technical and scientific subjects. I suggest that steps might be taken to have a full record of such students being kept in the Ministry of NR & SR. This record should include not only Government scholars but other Indians receiving training abroad. I imagine that many particulars are available in the Education Ministry. These may be added by reference to our embassies, more especially in London and Washington. These particulars should include the exact branch of science or technology in which the students are being trained and the period of training and when they are likely to come back to India. Also, if possible, some remarks about their general competence.

The Ministry of NR & SR will then be in a position to know how far their future needs will be fulfilled by these people who are being trained as well as how far additional persons should be trained for particular kinds of work.

In obtaining this information from our Missions abroad, the Ministry of External Affairs will give every help.<sup>2</sup>

1. Note to the Minister of Education, 31 July 1955. File No. 17(60)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to K.D. Malaviya.
2. See *post*, p. 257.

## 6. To Zakir Husain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12 August 1955

My dear Zakir Husain,<sup>2</sup>

Irfan Habib<sup>3</sup> came to see me this morning and I had a talk with him.<sup>4</sup> When you mentioned his case to me, you gave me the impression that while he was a young man of leftist sympathies and ideas, he was not a regular member of the Communist Party. My own information was that he had been for some time past and was still a member of the Communist Party and had participated in a number of activities as such and through associated organisations. Also that some action had been taken against him by the University some time back. Irfan admitted all this.

I told him that there had never been any question of our coming in the way of his going abroad for study. The only question was whether he should be given a Government scholarship for this purpose. The purpose of giving Government scholarships is to train a person who might be of service to the State in some capacity or other in the future. If a person could not be relied upon to serve the State with discretion and integrity, then obviously this main purpose would not be served. No State could be expected to go out of its way to give a scholarship to a person on whom it could not rely or who was likely to indulge in activities which were harmful to the State. I use the word "State" in a broader sense and not as applicable to a particular government. Also, I realise that it is rather difficult to draw a hard and fast line. Anyhow, it is not a question of differing views, political or other, but rather of a basic faith in a person's integrity. My own experience of communists has been that it is exceedingly difficult to rely upon their word or on their basic integrity in this sense. Their loyalty to their party overrides all other loyalties and, therefore, they are prepared often to function in a way which cannot be reconciled with my standards of personal behaviour. Again, I repeat this is not a question of difference in idea.

Personally, I have had no animosity against the communists at all but I

1. JN Collection.
2. Vice Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University.
3. Irfan Mohammad Habib (b. 1931); Professor of History at Aligarh Muslim University, 1969-1991; Chairman, ICHR, 1987-93; co-ordinator of the Centre of Advanced Study in History at the Aligarh Muslim University. Author of *Agrarian System of Mughal India, (1556-1707)*, *Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, *Essays in Indian History—Towards a Marxist Perception*.
4. Home Ministry had raised objections to his getting a Government scholarship for studies abroad because of his connection with the Communist Party of India. On Zakir Husain's intervention, Nehru met Irfan Habib.



have come to feel increasingly how quite out of date communist parties in non-communist countries are. As I told Irfan, they are like the Jesuits belonging to the strict order and not over-scrupulous in their dealings with others, provided they carry out the dictates of that order to whom they owe their basic loyalty. I see no reason why Government should go out of its way to offer a scholarship to a person who is so tied up with an order of this kind, whether it is the communist party or some other.

I recognise, of course, that one must not judge young people too strictly and youthful enthusiasm must not be ignored. Probably, with some greater experience, one grows out of these immature grooves of thought and action.

Anyhow, in the balance, I feel that we should decide in favour of Irfan Habib as a special case. My main reason for so thinking is that he is a young man of intelligence and, I believe, integrity and both these qualities will no doubt influence his future growth.

I am, therefore, advising the Education Ministry to give him the scholarship. Naturally, his future behaviour will be a consideration to be kept in mind.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. To A.K. Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
14 August 1955

My dear Maulana,

I am writing to you about a matter I discussed briefly with you today. The matter really relates to the Sangeet Natak Akademi and I should have written to that Akademi direct. But since it concerns Education Ministry also, I am writing to you. I shall be grateful if you will forward this letter of mine to the President of the Sangeet Natak Akademi. Some parts of it relate to the Education Ministry. Those of course might be dealt with by you directly.

2. The subject of this letter of mine is the Bharatiya Natya Sangh, otherwise called the Theatre Centre India<sup>2</sup> and its association with the International Theatre

1. File No. 40(56)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. An all India organization, set up in 1950 in order to stimulate drama, music and art and build an integral national theatre movement without detriment to local traditions, had about 250 groups affiliated with it and through it to the International Theatre Institute. It had local centres at various places. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya was its President.

Institute,<sup>3</sup> which is an offshoot of UNESCO. This morning Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya came to see me about this matter and gave me some information about this Theatre Centre India and its past history and present position. She told me that she had been very much hurt by a letter of the Education Ministry to the International Centre India<sup>4</sup> asking them to disaffiliate the Theatre Centre India and to give this affiliation to the Sangeet Natak Akademi. Apparently this letter had been sent without any reference to her, although she is the Vice-President of the Sangeet Natak Akademi. I think it was unfortunate that such a letter should have been sent without the courtesy of consulting the President of the Theatre Centre India, who happens also to be the Vice President of the Sangeet Natak Akademi.

3. I know practically nothing about the Sangeet Natak Akademi or about the Theatre Centre India, except what Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya mentioned to me today and some little other information that I have obtained. Oddly enough, I was at Dubrovnik in Yugoslavia just after the Congress of the International Theatre Institute was held there this year.<sup>5</sup> That was the first I heard of it.

4. A number of questions arise on which clear decisions should be given. The first is the exact position of the Akademis set up through the good offices of the Education Ministry. As you know, I am myself connected with the Sahitya Akademi. My own view has been, and you were good enough to agree with this, that these Akademis should be completely autonomous bodies and that there should be no Government interference in them. Naturally, they have, in regard to certain matters financial and other, to refer to Government. But otherwise Governmental interference should be wholly avoided. If there is such intervention, then they lose the essential character which literary, scientific and artistic organisations should possess. In communist countries of course, all such organisations are controlled by Governments. That is not so elsewhere and I do not think it should be so in India.

5. Therefore, any decision in regard to the Sangeet Natak Akademi should be made by the Akademi itself and not by the Ministry of Education. The letter written on behalf of the Ministry of Education to the ITI was, from this point of view, not proper. If any action had to be taken, it should have been by the Sangeet Natak Akademi itself.

6. The second question that arises is as to what the Sangeet Natak Akademi should do in this connection. I do not venture to advise it, as it is the Akademi's

3. International Theatre Institute or ITI was founded in Prague in July 1948, with headquarters in Paris, as a branch of the UNESCO to promote international cooperation and exchange of ideas among workers in theatre through national centres.
4. The reference is to the International Theatre Institute.
5. The sixth congress of the International Theatre Institute was held in July 1955.



function to decide. But, if I may be permitted, I should like to express my own opinion.

7. These Akademis are meant to be rather superior national bodies and it does not seem to me quite fitting that they should become some kind of branch organisations of something which is itself a branch of another organisation. The ITI is an offshoot of UNESCO. For the Sangeet Natak Akademi to become affiliated to the ITI would therefore, not be fitting. This Akademi covers much wider field than the theatre. This also makes it unsuitable for it to associate itself with a specialised organisation for the theatre like the ITI.

8. I have been informed that in fact the Executive Board of the Sangeet Natak Akademi considered this matter some time last year and was of the opinion that it would not be in keeping with the dignity of a national akademi to be so affiliated. Whether this matter was discussed again by the Executive Board and a contrary decision arrived at, I do not know. It seems to me, therefore, that the Education Ministry should not seek affiliation of the Sangeet Natak Akademi with the ITI, when the Executive Board had expressed its opinion against it. It is of course open to the Akademi or its Executive Board to revise its decision. This should be done in a formal way. In any event, the Education Ministry should not act on behalf of the Akademi.

9. In the letter dated 23rd June 1955 written by the Education Ministry to the President of the International Theatre Institute, it is presumed that a National Centre must be approved by the Government of the country concerned and only then will it be eligible for affiliation to the ITI. This presumption appears to me to be unjustified. In fact, as I have stated above, I should imagine that the Government should have as little to do with this matter as possible. The Sangeet Natak Akademi would be within its rights to object to Governmental interference in such matters which are wholly within its purview.

10. It is not quite clear to me whether the Bharatiya Natya Sangh or the Theatre Centre India is itself affiliated to the Sangeet Natak Akademi. In the letter from the Government of India to the ITI it is stated that this is one of the organisations so affiliated. But I was informed that this was not quite correct. It appears to be true, however, that some of the organisations attached to the Theatre Centre India have been recognised by the Akademi.

11. In any event I think it right and proper for the Theatre Centre India to be formally associated with the Sangeet Natak Akademi. As to whether the Theatre Centre India is a proper representative body of the various organisations in India dealing with the theatre, I can express no firm opinion without much greater enquiry. This would be a matter for the Sangeet Natak Akademi to consider. I enclose some papers about this Bharatiya Natya Sangh. From these it appears that it has a number of regional organisations in India. What work they have done or whether they are just paper organisations is again a matter about which I have very little information. Nor do I know if there is any other

organisation connected with the theatre which can be considered to be more representative in any way. It seems to me, however, that any such theatre organisation should be essentially a non-official one representing both the professional and amateur talent in the country. It is right that it should be associated formally with the Sangeet Natak Akademi which can give it general guidance and help.

12. In view of what I have stated above, I would suggest that the Sangeet Natak Akademi should meet to consider all these aspects and come to some clear decisions. The first question for it to consider would be as to whether it is proper for the Akademi itself to be affiliated to a body, the ITI, or indeed any other foreign organisation. In the event of its deciding that this direct affiliation is not desirable, the second question would be as to whether it recommends that the Bharatiya Natya Sangh should be so affiliated to the ITI. It is presumed that the Bharatiya Natya Sangh will itself be recognised by the Sangeet Natak Akademi. In according this recognition, the Akademi would be justified in giving such advice as it deems fit and proper to make the Bharatiya Natya Sangh more representative of the theatre in India than it might perhaps be now. It is open of course to the Akademi to consider if there is any other representative body in India dealing with the theatre.

13. I think that some such course should be adopted in dealing with this question. We all want the theatre to develop in India and we should encourage it to do so. But it will never develop if it is dealt with in official ways and by Government directly.

14. I enclose the following papers in this connection:

- (i) A note by Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.
- (ii) Two pamphlets about the Bharatiya Natya Sangh,
- (iii) Copy of the letter from N.S. Junankar<sup>6</sup> to the President of the ITI.
- (iv) A note sent by the Ministry of Education about this matter.
- (v) Minutes of meeting of Executive Board, Sangeet Natak Akademi dt. 26.9.1954.

15. I am attaching a copy of this letter so that it might be forwarded to the President of the Sangeet Natak Akademi.<sup>7</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. N.S. Junankar (b.1910); Education Officer, 1945-1948; Assistant Education Adviser, 1948-1952; Deputy Education Adviser, April 1955-October 1955.

7. P.V. Rajamannar was the President of the Sangeet Natak Akademi.



## 8. Expenditure on Education<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister observed that the expenditure on buildings should be reduced to the lowest possible limit. After the State had provided a good teacher and the essential equipment, the villagers themselves should put up the necessary buildings. In many cases, it would be enough if a shed was constructed and proper arrangements made for the storing of the equipment. During most of the year, the students could study under the trees.<sup>2</sup>

The Prime Minister suggested that the basic schools should manufacture a considerable portion of their equipment individually or in groups.<sup>3</sup> He mentioned that in Sevagram fifty per cent of the cost of the school used to be met out of the school's own production and twenty-five per cent from local contributions in kind. The expenditure included breakfast and one solid meal....

The Prime Minister thought that difficulties were bound to arise if two systems of education were to exist side by side.<sup>4</sup> He suggested that if basic education as defined and practised by its protagonists was considered too intricate, a fresh definition of basic education might be thought of. Whatever new system was evolved should be introduced throughout the country within a reasonably short period.

The Prime Minister directed that the allocation for education might be discussed further between Member (Education) and the Secretary, Ministry of Education....

The Prime Minister said that in re-drawing the plan the need for technical personnel must be kept in view and their training accorded the highest priority. He was not sure that the supply position of such personnel was satisfactory in the country.

...The Prime Minister suggested that in any case adequate facilities should be provided in the State industries for the training of apprentices....

The Prime Minister then referred to the suggestion which he had made at the meeting of the Planning Commission on the 24th August 1955, regarding compulsory social service for students.... The Prime Minister observed that it

1. Summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission, 25 August 1955. The discussion was on reduction in the allocation of funds for education. File No. Plan/100/1/55, Planing Commission. Extracts.
2. The Secretary, Ministry of Education, said that public contributions were not forthcoming to the desired extent.
3. The Education Member had suggested that students should spend two or three hours every day in cottage industries units in villages.
4. Earlier in the meeting, the Education Member had observed that basic schools cost almost twice as much as ordinary primary schools.

should be possible for the nation to command the services of suitable youngmen for tasks for which they were urgently needed and for which they were considered fit and not necessarily for those for which they volunteered.

## 9. To C.B. Gupta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
26 August 1955

My dear Chandra Bhan,<sup>2</sup>

In the course of a conversation this evening with Governor Munshi, a brief reference was made to the affairs of the Lucknow University. He told me of recent developments, of your resignation from the Treasurership and of your re-election to that post. I was much surprised to learn about all this, as I was vaguely under the impression that you had left the Treasurership many months ago.

You will remember that about a year or more ago I wrote to you on this subject and you were good enough to send me a long reply. I had written to you because the Congress Working Committee had passed a long resolution about educational matters<sup>3</sup> and in this resolution it had laid down that Ministers should not accept any offices involving executive responsibility in a university. The principle was clear enough, because Ministers have to deal with universities at another level.

You wrote to me then about certain difficulties and I realised that at that particular time it might be somewhat embarrassing for you to leave the Treasurership. A new Act also was being framed etc. So we agreed that this resignation might take place a little later.

I do feel that your re-election and continuation in the office of Treasurer of the University is unfortunate. It is of course clearly against the direction of the Working Committee. It may be that the case of the Lucknow University is rather a special case. But hard cases make bad law and become bad precedents.<sup>4</sup> I do hope, therefore, that you will not accept this Treasurership. I do not think there is any harm in your continuing in the syndicate.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to K.M. Munshi.
2. Minister in the UP Government.
3. For the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in New Delhi on 5 December 1953, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, pp. 178-179.
4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, pp. 279-281.



### III. TRIBAL AFFAIRS

#### 1. To Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
26 July 1955

My dear Jairamdas,<sup>2</sup>  
Your letter of July 22nd.

I am clearly of opinion that in the circumstances existing today, it would not be desirable to replace the current Roman script among the Naga tribes by the Nagari script. This will merely add to your difficulties and probably create needless prejudice against Hindi, which hardly exist today. We are having trouble enough in south India over Hindi because of foolish statements made by the protagonists of Hindi.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, I hope that you will adhere to the current Roman script there in the preparation of your elementary text books.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Assam.
3. For example, the President, Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee. S. Channaiah, said on 14 July 1955 that it was necessary that there be one flag, one government and one language for the country and appealed to everyone to learn Hindi and spread it throughout the country so that it might become the *Rashtrabhasha*.

#### 2. To Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
27 July 1955

My dear Jairamdas,

.... I think that you should take steps to inform Phizo<sup>2</sup> that I have received the two notes which he handed to you. These are much too vague. In one of them, reference is made to independence for the Naga people. This is not a subject

1. JN Collection. Copies of the letter were sent to the Foreign Secretary and Joint Secretary, MEA. Extracts.
2. A.Z. Phizo, President, Naga National Council.

which I am prepared to discuss with him, as I have told him previously when he came to see me some years ago.<sup>3</sup> If there are any other subjects he wishes to discuss, I shall see him.

But, there is another important matter to be mentioned to him. My information is that Phizo and his group are organising violent activities, interfering with communications, burning public buildings and making armed attacks on Government representatives.<sup>4</sup> So long as this kind of violence continues, I am not prepared to see anyone who is connected with it. This must stop completely and Phizo should publicly condemn it. Only then can the question of my meeting him arise.

Some such message in suitable language can be conveyed to him, if that is possible.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 11 March 1952, New Delhi. See also *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 17, p. 386.
4. Phizo's visit in late 1954 to the Tuensang area of NEFA and NNC's propaganda incited a spate of violence in the area targetting Government officials and villagers who supported the administration. By June 1955, the situation had deteriorated so much that the State Government decided to launch a joint operation by the Assam Rifles and State Police in July 1955.

### 3. To Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
31 July 1955

My dear Jairamdas,

I have already written<sup>2</sup> that I shall try to go to Assam about Saturday 27th August and visit some of the flood affected areas. I should like to take advantage of this visit to discuss with you and others concerned tribal problems both in the Naga Hills District and the NEFA. In particular, I should like to meet Verrier Elwin<sup>3</sup> and the Advisers.<sup>4</sup>

As you know, I am deeply interested in these matters, not only in regard

1. JN Collection.
2. On 29 July 1955.
3. Verrier Elwin was an English anthropologist who worked amongst the tribals in Central and North East India. He was Adviser to the Government of India on Tribal Affairs, NEFA since 1954.
4. K.L. Mehta was the Adviser and R. Yusuf Ali, the Deputy Adviser, to the Governor, Assam.



to the immediate problems but even more so in the development of that area and the tribal people. Perhaps I could spend a day in Shillong for this particular purpose. If, during my visit, some of the Naga people wish to see me, I am prepared to meet them, but of course I am not prepared to discuss independence with anybody, and so far as the Naga National Council is concerned, they must denounce violence openly before I can meet them.

Some time back you will remember I wrote to you a note on cultural and other developments in the NEFA.<sup>5</sup> I do not remember receiving your comments on this note. I should have liked your comments as well as Verrier Elwin's.

Among other things I should like to discuss those matters also. Perhaps we might also consider then, in its broad features, the Five Year Plan for the development of NEFA.

I cannot exactly indicate how long I shall be able to stay in Assam. But broadly speaking, I should like two days for a tour of the flood affected areas and one clear day in Shillong completely devoted to these tribal problems.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. See *Selected Works* (second series) Vol. 28. pp. 492-494.

#### 4. To Bisnuram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17 August 1955

My dear Medhi,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of August 15th.

I am glad you saw Phizo and his companions and got him to make the declaration he did.<sup>3</sup> This is good as far as it goes, but, of course, we shall have to watch him and see what he does in future.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Assam.

3. Medhi had written that he met Phizo and five other NNC leaders in Shillong on 13 August. Phizo admitted that some Nagas were resorting to violence in the Naga Hills District and Tuensang area. The NNC leaders signed a declaration condemning the violence and stated that Phizo would visit different places and appeal to the people to desist from violence and help the administration in restoring law and order. Medhi told Phizo not to move about as an underground person but to move openly and also that the declaration would be judged by the cessation of violence.

I am concerned to learn about what you have written regarding the refugees in the Tizu Valley trying to enter the State territory.<sup>4</sup> I hope this matter is being looked into.

I do not understand why the morale of the Assam Rifles should suffer because they are dispersed in small numbers.<sup>5</sup> That kind of thing is always done with the Army or with any force.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. He had written that hundreds of starving and ailing refugees, mainly women and children, had assembled in the Tizu valley of Tuensang area of NEFA and were trying to enter into the state territory for shelter.
5. Medhi had written that the morale of the Assam Rifles, a semi-military force, had been undermined due to its dispersal into small groups in distant places in Tuensang, where difficulties of access, lack of communication and sufficient reserves have resulted in casualties.

## 5. Violence in NEFA<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I now read the statement about the North East Frontier Agency?

A number of questions have been asked in the Lok Sabha recently about the situation in the Tuensang Division of the North East Frontier Agency. During the last few months, there have been sporadic outbreaks of violence by certain elements on the borders of the Naga Hills District and the south of the Tuensang Division. These consisted of ambushes in which some Assam Rifles men as well as a number of tribal interpreters and other villagers were killed, some school buildings, houses and some villages were burnt, and medical supplies were looted. Government thereupon sent two companies of the Shillong Brigade in May this year for garrison duty at Tuensang to relieve Assam Rifles for rounding up the violent elements. Troops were used only for garrison duties and not for operation.

Some days ago, we received further information about some of these Nagas who were indulging in violence and arson. They had adopted hit and run tactics.

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 18 August 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*. 1955, Vol. VI. Part II, cols. 10378-10380.



The Political Officer of the Tuensang Division,<sup>2</sup> who is himself a Naga, reported the presence of organised armed gangs, totalling a few hundred in this area. These gangs possessed fire arms and some automatic weapons. The Political Officer had received numerous complaints from many villages to the effect that they had been terrorised by these gangs. He suggested to the NEFA administration that these sporadic outbreaks of violence must be promptly and effectively put down. He, therefore, asked for military aid to the civil power. This recommendation was considered by the Governor and his advisers, and they were unanimously of opinion that it should be accepted. Government have, therefore, agreed to send a battalion of the Army to the southern sector of the Tuensang Frontier Division. This will act in close consultation with the local civil authorities and will be withdrawn as soon as these violent elements have been rounded up. This step was considered necessary in view of the evidence of murder, extortion, arson and terrorisation of certain villages so that this trouble may not be allowed to grow and should be fully controlled at the outset. The army has been directed not to use undue force.

Government, are, at the same time, carrying out their programme of developing the tribal areas for the benefit of the tribal people. There is no change in our policy of non-interference with their social customs and tribal structure. It has been found by experience that the most effective way of dealing with these areas, which have been recently brought under administrative control, is to introduce community schemes, with suitable variations to suit the people there. These schemes have already become popular wherever they have been introduced and have diverted the minds of the people to constructive and beneficent activities. Most of the educated elements and the masses of the tribal people are cooperating with Government. Even some of their leaders who had encouraged previously these violent activities, have now denounced violence and promised support to Government in curbing and controlling the violent elements who have been terrorising the population for some months past.

The casualties thus far suffered on our side have been:

Killed: Five Assam Rifles, two interpreters, two woodcutters, one porter and twelve villagers.

Injured: Three Assam Rifles, two porters and five villagers.

Among the hostile elements, the exact casualties are not known but, so far as is known, there have been fourteen killed and twelve injured.

The loss of property thus far due to arson and looting by these hostile elements has been sixty houses and twenty-five granaries, one office building and godown and two schools burnt. Medical stores and one dispensary looted. Eight culverts damaged.

2. Major Bob Kathing.

The hostile elements have collected ransom from the villagers, amounting, so far as is known, to Rs. 2,700/-.

The troops that are being sent to the Tuensang Division will be in position on the 19th August.

## 6. Telegram to Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 36 August 20 to Kaul.<sup>2</sup>

I shall be discussing this question with you and Chief Minister when I go to Assam. But I feel that it is not wise to encourage Phizo in the way it is suggested or even to make it appear that we are using him for our purposes. What is more likely to happen is that he will exploit us for his own advantage. In particular, his touring about in the Naga Hills District or anywhere else, apparently with our goodwill, appears undesirable. Our making some gain through his influence will really mean strengthening him.

I am sorry that Nagas like Imkongmeren are proceeded against<sup>3</sup> while Phizo is dealt with differently.

1. New Delhi, 24 August 1955. JN Collection.
2. Doulatram had written to T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary, MEA, that Phizo, who still commanded influence in Tuensang Division and who had now offered to try to stop violence there, could be informally told to contact the perpetrators of violence there to stop violent activities, but Phizo should not be allowed to tour that area. Doulatram felt that the Government should not appear to have ignored Phizo's offer before the Army went into action.
3. Doulatram had informed Nehru that the State Government were reluctant to withdraw the warrant against Imkongmeren Ao, Vice President of NNC.

## 7. Basic Problems of NEFA<sup>1</sup>

During my brief visit to Shillong<sup>2</sup> I have had the opportunity to discuss some

1. Note to Jairamdas Doulatram, K.L. Mehta, Verrier Elwin, Secretary-General, Foreign Secretary and Joint Secretary (E), MEA, Shillong, 28 August 1955. JN Collection.
2. On 27 August 1955.



of the problems of the North East Frontier Agency with the Governor and others here. I am not referring to the little trouble we are having in the Tuensang Division, but rather to the basic problems we have in these tribal areas and our general approach to them. Broadly speaking, we have indicated our approach in the past and I believe that, on the whole, this is being followed. And, yet, new problems arise from day to day and we have to be wide awake so as to learn from experience and adapt ourselves to the experience gained by our work.

2. About a year or more ago, we appointed, after careful selection, a new lot of political officers and other senior officers.<sup>3</sup> So far as I have been able to judge, these officers that we have appointed both at headquarters and as political officers in the districts, have justified their choice. They are competent, enthusiastic and friendly to the tribal people. That is a great gain because I feel that practically everything depends upon the quality of our officers in these areas, much more so here than in places where there is a settled administration.

3. I have had talks with the Governor, with Dr Verrier Elwin, the Adviser K.L. Mehta,<sup>4</sup> the Development Commissioner Colonel P.N. Luthra,<sup>5</sup> the Deputy Adviser Lieut-Col Yusuf Ali<sup>6</sup> and others. The Governor has taken deep interest in the problems of the Agency and has devoted a great deal of his time. He has travelled about a great deal and visited many places where hardly any officer had been previously. He has thus acquired an intimate and detailed knowledge of these areas and the people who inhabit them. Dr Verrier Elwin is a recognised authority in regard to tribal affairs in India and he brings to his task sympathy and understanding which is unusual and most helpful. I do not think it is possible

3. In 1954, the MEA decided to form a cadre of officers to be known as the Indian Frontier Administrative Service which required men with open minds to be able to grasp the broad essentials for dealing with the tribesmen; to be prepared to forego the comforts of living in towns and to spend the entire span of their service amongst the hillmen.
4. Kanhaiyalal Mehta (1913-91); Joined ICS, 1937; Deputy Commander, Kumaon Division, Uttar Pradesh, 1947-48; Chief Commander, Ajmer, 1950-51; Chief Secretary, Himachal Pradesh, March 1952-January 1954; Officer on Special Duty, Ministry of External Affairs, December, 1953-January 1954; Adviser to the Governor of Assam (North East Frontier Agency Shillong), 1954-59; Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1959-62; Indian Ambassador, in Turkey, 1963-66, in Ethiopia, 1966-68, in Chile, 1968-71, and in Afghanistan, 1971-74; author of *In Different Worlds*.
5. Pran Nath Luthra (1917-2000); commissioned in Indian Army, 1939; joined Indian Frontier Administration Service, 1955; Special Officer, Frontier Area, MEA, 1956; Commissioner, Nagaland, 1957-60; on special duty with Border Roads Development Board, 1960; Adviser to the Governor of Assam, 1963-April 1971; Additional Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation at Calcutta, April 1971-March 1973; author of *Administration and Constitutional Growth of NEFA, Glimpse into Nagaland*.
6. Rashid Yusuf Ali.

really to understand the tribal people unless one approaches them with this sympathy and understanding. Dr Elwin's advice, therefore, is of great value. The other senior officers I met also showed a keen interest in their work and a friendly approach to the tribal people.

4. In dealing with these tribes in the NEFA we meet a great variety of them. They differ from each other in many ways, some being more primitive than others. On the whole, the tribes in the NEFA are more primitive than those of the autonomous districts of Assam. In large areas of the NEFA there has been no administration and their contacts with the outside world have been very limited, if at all. For various reasons, we have been spreading out our administration over this area and thus, rather suddenly, we have brought these tribes face to face with some aspects of the outside world. They have come in contact with our officers, the men of the Assam Rifles and to a small extent some shopkeepers and the like.

5. This sudden contact of the stone age, or something approaching it, with certain technical developments of the modern age produces a variety of intricate problems. The most important of these problems is psychological. What effect has this contact produced on them?

6. It has often happened in other areas of the world that such contact has been disastrous to the primitive culture and gradually the primitive people thus affected die out. They cannot survive the shock of modern conditions which, of course, they normally saw at their worst.

7. It is obvious that the sudden extension of our administration must have produced enormous psychological reactions in these people. It is difficult for us to judge of these because it is quite impossible for us to put ourselves in their place. And, yet, it is of the greatest importance that we should try to understand what is happening and in our well meant efforts to improve them, not do them grievous injury. How we can do this is more than I can suggest, except that we should always think of this aspect of the problem and keep wide awake. A relatively minor result is some kind of a petty revolt against conditions which they do not understand and the invasion of agencies which are foreign to them. A deeper result must take place somewhere within their minds. Thus, we may well succeed in uprooting them from their way of life with standards and discipline, and give them nothing in its place. We may make them feel ashamed of themselves and their own people and thus they may become thoroughly frustrated and unhappy. They have not got the resilience of human beings accustomed to the shocks of the modern world and so they tend to succumb to this shock.

8. I suppose that all our officers have this aspect of this question in mind. Nevertheless, I should like to emphasise it. It is for this reason that we have always talked about proceeding cautiously with this problem and not disturbing their old habits and cultures and ways of life. And, yet, what we do may well



result in a complete upset of their way of life and thus bring about undesirable consequences.

9. I am laying stress on this aspect, although it is obvious, because it is just possible that in our enthusiasm for doing good we might overshoot the mark and do evil instead. We are up against a fascinating problem of exceeding complexity.

10. Normally speaking, I would have suggested that we should go slow and should not be in a hurry to introduce the civilizing process in these areas. We should give them some time to adapt themselves to it and not try to make them change too rapidly. But, in some ways, we have little choice in this matter. Our frontier in the North East has become an important one for us. We cannot leave it untenanted or unprotected on our side. If we have to look after the frontier adequately, we must have communications leading up to it. Also, we can hardly leave a political vacuum between the frontier and the administered area.

11. Thus, we cannot avoid coming into frequent contact in various ways with these tribal people of the North East. We have to spread our administration there or at least the skeleton of it. This naturally leads to other steps and so we get entangled more and more and the people of these areas tend to be overwhelmed by our many-sided approach. All one can say, therefore, is that while we have to spread out in this way, let us not overdo it and let us be cautious in our approach all the time. Every step taken should be watched carefully for its reactions so that our next step may be a wiser one. It is no good at all for us to come to rigid decisions in our minds as to what should be done, regardless of the consequences. We have to proceed by trial and error and take a further step, as far as possible, after consolidating the earlier one.

12. I have been reading through a long note on the development work in the NEFA. There are charts attached to it of the progress made and these charts and statistics are impressive. The note itself is full of enthusiasm and the urge to bring the benefits of modern life to this isolated area.

13. In this note the pattern of development is discussed and it is pointed out how essential it has become to give these people some of the amenities which they so woefully lack.

14. All this is good. But suddenly I come across a statement that the scout movement and cooperative societies should be introduced in these areas. It is further said that we must not be afraid of the cry for de-tribalisation if it is raised. We need not be afraid of anything. But it does seem to me an extraordinary remark to make that we should introduce the scout movement or cooperative societies, as we know them, in these areas. Tribal folk, by the very nature of their ways of life, are self-reliant, alert and excellent scouts, though they are not aware of the technique of the Scout Movement. Also, certainly we should encourage cooperative efforts among them. But to talk of our

normal cooperative societies growing there appears to me to be far-fetched indeed.

15. It is this approach that rather frightens me, because it is an approach of imposition of what we consider good for them and it fails to take into account the deeper nature of the problem. I am not for a continuation of the tribal structure. Indeed, as I have often said, the essence of the caste system in India is tribal and the sooner we get rid of it the better. But the tribal structure of these primitive people is something much more than a mere form. It is the very texture of their lives and we break it up at our peril. It will break of course, but this must come more through their own agencies, helped by us, than as a thing from outside. That is to say, some of their own people who have been trained in other places should undertake this task. They will do so with full knowledge and sympathy for the inner working of the mind of the tribal people, a knowledge which with all the goodwill in the world we cannot possess.

16. Again, reference is made in this note to education leading to mass unemployment. It is obviously a correct remark. But it makes one realise that the person who is writing this is thinking not of conditions in the tribal areas, but much more so of what prevails in the rest of India.

17. The culture of the tribals is referred to and the necessity for preserving their folk laws, songs and history. Quite right again. But how exactly do we approach this problem? Do we do so in some superior way preserving for future generations the anthropological record of these tribes or do we rather seek to understand their way of life and endeavour to bring about changes without breaking it up?

18. We seek in India to cultivate self-reliance among our people and the capacity to use their hands as well as their minds. The Community Project Scheme has succeeded in this to a remarkable degree. Let us remember, however, that the tribal people have this self-reliance, provided we do not break it up, and have an innate sense of discipline. It is on this basis that we should build.

19. In the various development schemes a good deal of money is allotted to buildings. Buildings are necessary. But I should like this matter to be examined afresh as to the type of buildings required. Why should we put up brick and mortar buildings which, apart from being costly, do not fit in at all with their surroundings. Can we not go in usually for attractive and comfortable huts which may not last very long, but which will be much cheaper and will fit in with these surroundings? It does not matter if these buildings are temporary. Even so, they will be cheaper and more money can be spent on more worthwhile activities or even on higher scales of pay for the subordinate staff.

20. I entirely agree with the statement that we should employ, as far as possible, the tribal people and train them up for it. Some of them should be



sent for training abroad so that they can come back to their homelands and be leaders of their people.

21. The basic system of education is obviously the right one for these people, provided always that it is adapted to them and to their needs. We must not reproduce an exact copy of what might be suitable in Allahabad or in Sevagram. In fact, in everything we do we must keep in mind that this must fit in with the life of these people. I heard sometime ago that in some of the schools *Ragho Pati Raghav Raja Ram* was taught to be sung. This seemed to me totally inappropriate. None of the boys and girls in the tribal areas have the faintest conception of what this means. Indeed, I would say that the singing of *Jana Gana Mana* would also have little meaning to them at this stage.

22. I find that among the stories supplied to some of them is the story of Robinson Crusoe and the story of Jawaharlal. I have nothing against these. But I would say that a more intelligent choice could be made of the subjects which interest them and which they understand.

23. The question of script for the tribal languages has arisen. In the autonomous tribal districts of Assam the usual script for the tribal languages is Roman. In most of NEFA *Devanagari* is being used as the script. In the Tuensang Division, however, there is some difference of opinion as to the script. *Devanagari* has some obvious advantages. It is easier to transcribe the sounds of the tribal languages into *Nagari*. Also, as Hindi is being learnt separately, it would simplify the work of learning the tribal language if the script was the same. The objection to this, however, is that in this Tuensang Division, where at present we are having trouble with the Nagas, the imposition of the *Nagari* script might itself lead to further trouble. This objection has validity. I cannot say to what extent this introduction of the *Nagari* script in the Tuensang area would be resented by the people there, and therefore, I cannot express a firm opinion. The Governor feels strongly that there is this danger of opposition and we should not complicate our task further. Others feel that this danger is not great and anyhow we shall have to go over to the Hindi script later. Why then perpetuate something which we shall have to change some time or other? It may be more difficult to change it then than now.

24. I confess I find it difficult to say what should be done and how to balance these various factors.

25. It seems to me that in all these areas of Assam and the NEFA *Devanagari* should be the script not only for the tribal languages but for Assamese also. This would be a tremendous gain and would lessen the burden on the students. They could then learn not only their own language, but also Hindi and Assamese through one script only. It is only when they try to learn English that they will have to study in another script. I asked a number of Khasi leaders about this today. They all agreed that sometime later *Nagari* must be the common script. But they wanted Roman to continue for some

time, as they were used to it. I asked the Chief Minister of Assam about Assamese. He agreed that it would be helpful and promote growth if Assamese adopted the *Nagari* script. He added, however, that there was much opposition to it. For the present he suggested that either script could be used, i.e., the present Assamese (which is near to Bengali) or the *Nagari*.

26. Thus, we have to move in the direction of the adoption of the *Nagari* script for all the tribal languages as well as, I hope, the Assamese language and it would be better not to take any step which comes in the way of this change later. But if there is any difficulty at present, then we will have to delay this change.

27. I am anxious that the artistic tradition of the tribal people should be preserved. I have learnt with horror of cheap textiles and other totally unnecessary articles being imported into the NEFA and sold at some Marwari shops which have been opened. I think that such shops should not be permitted there and a list of articles to be imported should be carefully made. We must not encourage the tribal people to get into bad artistic habits which normally follow the wake of what is called civilisation.

28. It is proposed to cover the entire Agency by NES blocks during the next ten years. Presumably, a number of these blocks will be community projects. I would welcome the spread of the community projects and NES blocks in these areas. And, yet, I am a little anxious that in our enthusiasm we might not go too far and too suddenly. I should like each step to be watched and its consequences studied. I do not mind if the process slows down a little because of this.

29. What I am anxious about particularly is to avoid large numbers of outsiders being sent to the tribal areas in some capacity or other. If that happens, however well we may train them, the mere numbers will produce what I would call a revolutionary situation in the tribal areas. We will lose grip of the situation then and will have to content ourselves with drifting and accepting many things that we do not like.

30. I have said above that even if we train all the people we send there, the consequences are likely to be bad. It is obvious, however, that we cannot give adequate training to every minor official who is sent there. Some of our people who go there look upon the tribals in a superior way. They make fun of them and sometimes they run after their women folk. All this creates a multitude of problems. Any person from outside who goes there must show respect and understanding for tribal ways. Otherwise, he is a misfit.

31. It must be remembered, and I think our officers understand this fully, that a community project or an NES block has to evolve a new pattern there different from the normal pattern elsewhere in India. Because of this new pattern, it becomes all the more necessary to go warily and to find out by experience what the right pattern is.



32. It seems to me that the priorities in regard to developmental work in the Agency should be:-

- (1) very careful choice of personnel going there;
- (2) communications;
- (3) agricultural development; and
- (4) some simple health services, including water supply, education, tribal languages and cottage industries.

33. This note deals with my immediate reactions after the talks I have had. There is much else to be said because the problem is a fascinating one and very intricate. I am happy, however, that the men in-charge here both at the headquarters in Shillong and the political officers in the districts are competent and enthusiastic. I should like them to be given a good deal of discretion in handling their problems within the ambit of our larger policies. They are on the spot and the spot is rather cut off from headquarters. Generally speaking, they will be in a better position to judge.

34. I would further add that every person who goes to the tribal areas, whatever his grade or degree, should be given to understand as to how our people should behave there and how they should treat the tribal people. This should include the people of the Assam Rifles or our Army who go there.

## 8. Appointment of Persons from Tribal People<sup>1</sup>

Over a year ago, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Shri Shrikant)<sup>2</sup> appointed, after consulting some of us, Shri Sashimeren Aier<sup>3</sup> as his Regional Assistant Commissioner for Assam, Manipur and Tripura. It seemed to the Governor of Assam as well as to me that this was a proper appointment, chiefly because this person was one of the very few Nagas who were competent to undertake this work and it was highly desirable that we should appoint a person from the tribal people.

2. Subsequently, I think in September 1954, Shri Aier had an interview

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 28 August 1955. JN Collection.

2. L.M. Shrikant.

3. 1. Sashimeren Aier (b. 1927); IAS; Assistant Commissioner, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India for Assam, Manipur and Tripura, 1954-63; Additional Development Commissioner, Nagaland, 1963-66; Secretary, Nagaland Government, 1966-73; took active part in organizing Naga People's Convention.

with the Union Public Service Commission, but the Commission apparently have come to no decision yet. I am told that they were somewhat reluctant to accept him because of his age. He is about twenty-five or twenty-six now. This great delay in finalising this appointment has led to adverse comments among the Nagas who say that he is not being appointed simply because he is a Naga. As a matter of fact, he is a competent and enthusiastic man specially suited for this work.

3. I should like you to find out why this delay has occurred and to suggest that a decision might be expedited.

## IV. SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

### 1. Organisation of Ministry of NR & SR<sup>1</sup>

Ever since the death of Dr Bhatnagar,<sup>2</sup> the work of the Ministry of NR & SR has been in a somewhat disorganised state waiting for new appointments. Meanwhile all kinds of major new schemes relating to scientific and technical progress have come up to the Government for consideration. In fact the work of the Ministry of NR & SR is growing more and more important and urgent.

I understand that in the course of two or three days, Professor Thacker<sup>3</sup> will take charge as Director of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. He will be in full charge of the Council's work and the national laboratories. He will also be our Scientific Adviser. He will not be the Secretary of the Ministry of NR & SR.

It has, therefore, become a matter of some urgent importance to finalise the appointment of a Secretary of NR & SR. I trust that this will be done soon. I would suggest also that in view of the major schemes before Government for scientific advance, the whole subject might be considered so that the organisation of the Ministry might be adapted accordingly and work speeded up.

1. Note to Abul Kalam Azad, Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research. 31 July 1955. JN Collection. Copies of this note were sent to K.D. Malaviya and Cabinet Secretary.
2. Dr S.S. Bhatnagar, Secretary, Ministry of NR & SR, passed away on 1 January 1955.
3. Maneklal Sankalchand Thacker (1904-79): Director, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, 1949-55; Director, CSIR and Additional Secretary, Ministry of NR & SR, 1955-57; Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and Director-General, CSIR, 1957-62; Member, Planning Commission, 1962-67.



## 2. Cable to Louis St. Laurent<sup>1</sup>

I thank you for your message of the 16th July conveying the generous offer of your Government to make an atomic reactor available to us, under the Colombo Plan, in addition to the funds for assistance in financing our conventional development projects. I warmly welcome the proposal and assure you of our willingness to provide facilities for working with the reactor to accredited foreign scientists including those from other Asian countries, in the Colombo Plan.

Whilst I am convinced of the great value that an experimental and research reactor would be to India, I am advised to indicate our preference for the NRU model, which you now have under construction, as being better suited than the NRX to the physical conditions of Bombay where the reactor would have to be located in a part of the Atomic Energy establishment.

The technical reasons for this, I believe, were mentioned in those informal exchanges between scientists of our two countries to which you have made reference. As we shall have nothing like the waters of your Chalk river with which to cool the NRX reactor, we will either have to cool the cooling water which flows through the reactor in cooling towers, or by passing it through a heat exchanger in which the secondary circuit will contain the salt water of the Bombay harbour. With this arrangement, it would be better to use heavy water than ordinary water in the primary cooling circuit. If this is done, the reactor will approximate more, I understand, to your NRU reactor than to the NRX.

I would indeed appreciate your giving some thought to this aspect of the matter and venture to add that we would gladly meet any difference in cost that there may be between the two Canadian models. Perhaps when our scientists meet in Geneva next month, for the Atom for Peace Conference<sup>2</sup> they could take the opportunity to continue informal discussions about these reactors. In any case, it would be convenient if sketch plans and data sheets for the NRX and also, if possible, for the NRU reactor could be supplied to Dr Homi Bhabha by the Canadian delegation.

I am very happy to receive your congratulations on my recent tour and your personal good wishes.

1. New Delhi, 31 July 1955. File No. 17(52)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Louis St. Laurent was the Prime Minister of Canada.
2. Held from 8 to 21 August 1955.

### 3. Atom for Peace<sup>1</sup>

I should like to send my greeting to this Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy,<sup>2</sup> which has taken shape at the instance of President Eisenhower. Recently the Four Power Conference<sup>3</sup> at Geneva gave a ray of hope to war-weary world which has suddenly come face to face with the terror of the atomic and hydrogen bomb. Now this Conference will, I hope, turn peoples' minds still more from the evil aspects of the misuse of this great force which has come into man's hands and show the way to peaceful progress and cooperation. The Conference on Atomic Energy which is being held in Geneva is of a new type and very different from the normal conferences that have so far been held. It is right that it should be so, because the atomic age, on the threshold of which we stand, is also something new. We have to get used to it in our minds, in our activities and to think of it only in terms of peace and not of destruction.

All my good wishes to the eminent scientists and others who have gathered at Geneva for this purpose.<sup>4</sup>

1. Message for the first international Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held in Geneva from 8 to 21 August 1955. New Delhi, 6 August 1955. JN Collection.
2. The conference discussed various aspects of atomic energy and their application to industry and agriculture; fundamental physical factors determining the design of nuclear reactors; the uses of radioactive isotopes; the effects of atomic radiation on man; and the protection of atomic workers from harmful effects of radiation.
3. In the Four Power Conference, held in Geneva from 18 to 23 July 1955, Eisenhower, Bulganin, Anthony Eden and E. Faure issued a joint directive instructing their Foreign Ministers to meet in Geneva in October to "propose effective means" for the solution of the questions of: (1) European security and German re-unification; (2) disarmament; and (3) contact between East and West.
4. From seventy-two countries. 1260 delegates and 800 observers attended the Conference.





## PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE





## I. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

### 1. Police Reports and Home Ministry's Decisions<sup>1</sup>

I remember seeing some of these papers rather casually at an earlier stage. I have now read the summary. I do not wish at this stage to interfere with the decisions arrived at by the Home Minister.

2. But, reading through this summary, there are repeated references to police reports and the holding of Marxist views. Insofar as I have been able to make out, the police reports are based on the report of his holding Marxist views and on his association with certain Praja Socialist leaders in India. Indeed it is obvious that he has associated himself with some of these Praja Socialists as many of them have written to us about him.

3. Everybody knows that the Praja Socialists are more anti-communist than any group or individual. Therefore, my strong presumption is that Mr Torcuato Di Tella<sup>2</sup> is of the socialist variety and not of the communist variety. Everyone knows that socialist Marxists are not considered to be particularly dangerous individuals.

4. I was not aware that holding of Marxist views was considered as a bar to anyone coming into India. I hold some kind of Marxist views myself though not wholly so. We may well have a Cabinet Minister holding socialist Marxist views.

5. This whole case, therefore, depends upon a report from our Embassy that Mr Di Tella held Marxist views. I have no means of judging that report. I would like our Embassy to tell us how they came to this conclusion. Did they get this from the Argentine authorities or police? It is generally known that the Government in the Argentine is a very reactionary Government and almost dictatorial one. One of the most famous writers of Argentina, a lady who was closely associated with Tagore, was sent to prison by the Government there for holding views they did not like.<sup>3</sup> She wrote a letter to me and our Embassy was a little afraid to send it on.<sup>4</sup> The lady has an international reputation and is a deeply religious type.

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 1 June 1955, JN Collection.

2. Torcuato Di Tella was an Argentine citizen who came to India and married an Indian girl. Later on he was asked to go back on the basis of a report from the Indian Embassy in Buenos Aires that he held Marxist views.

3. Victoria Ocampo.

4. For Nehru's reply to her, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, pp. 702-703.



6. Therefore, all this background does not impress me at all. There might be something more to it, but it is not obvious. In fact, I am inclined to think that there is nothing much more.

7. I do not know of any acts done here by Mr Di Tella which go against him, unless the association with the Praja Socialists or with some semi-socialist gatherings might be considered one.

8. It seems to me quite clear that his desire to marry this particular Indian girl has led to the various steps he has taken. I do not attach much importance to the three months visa or the six months visa. Any average person in his position would have acted in that way. I am more concerned about his wife than about him.

9. But this individual apart, I do not like the way we dispose of human beings on such trivial evidence based on the ideas of some policemen about Marxist views. I should like to examine that policeman as to what Marxist views are and what the difference is between communist Marxism and socialist Marxism.

10. As I have said above, I do not wish to interfere in this matter, but I did wish to express my apprehension about the way we deal with such cases.

11. In order to satisfy myself, I am enquiring from our Embassy in Buenos Aires about the source of information for stating that Mr Di Tella held Marxist views and what exactly they meant by it.

## 2. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

25 July 1955

My dear Pantji,

I heard rather casually today from Indira that a person working in the Social Service Board was suddenly discharged. I do not know who this person is or his name, but I understand he was doing good work there. On enquiry as to why he was discharged, she was told that the Home Ministry had sent through the Education Ministry a note that he was a security risk. On further enquiry, it transpired that the chief objection to him was that he frequently saw the Chairman of the Students' Federation in Delhi.

I do not know this person nor the facts except what I have stated above. But, if these facts are true, I am concerned at the way we function. To begin

1. JN Collection.

with, the fact of association with the Chairman of the Students' Federation should certainly not be a bar. Secondly, the Social Service Board does nothing secret. Thirdly, this is the surest way of driving right thinking young men into wrong courses. It seems to me rather absurd for young men to be punished in this way for association with other young men whom we may consider not desirable.

Apart from all this, we have to change our attitude somewhat in regard to these matters. I think that some people in the Home Ministry are not quite up-to-date in their ideas or their understanding of the world as it is or of India as it is. They should be pulled up.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. Indian Coinage<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I must confess I have not quite followed the arguments in this case although here and there I have been present. From what I have followed, at least so far as some of the critics are concerned, it seems to me that there is a grave misunderstanding, a misapprehension. This is not merely a question of a new nomenclature. This is not merely a question of changing something old for the sake of changing something that is old. It is a basic approach not only in regard to coinage, although this Bill deals with coinage,<sup>2</sup> but with other matters too, with weights and measures. We should be coming to this House later on with a Bill regarding weights and measures and several other connected matters.<sup>3</sup> It is intimately connected, I submit, with the whole

1. Interventions during the discussion on the Indian Coinage (Amendment) Bill in the Lok Sabha, 28 July 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vol. V, Part II, cols. 8820-8826. Extracts.
2. The Indian Coinage (Amendment) Bill, introduced in the Lok Sabha on 7 May 1955 provided for the introduction of a decimal system of subsidiary coinage.
3. The introduction of metric system of weights and measures preceded by the adoption of decimal coinage had been recommended by a special committee appointed by the Indian Standards Institution. The Standards of Weights and Measures Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 13 August 1956.



process of, you might call, the Five Year Plan or India's development, whether it is industrial development, agricultural development or whatever it is.<sup>4</sup>

Take weights and measures. Everybody knows that there is a variety all over India. There is no uniformity. Everybody agrees that there has to be uniformity at least, whatever the system might be. Take the seer; there are various kinds. There must be uniformity. Otherwise, we cannot have uniform development. That is to say, we have grown, naturally, not in a uniform way all over India in regard to these matters. We have adhered to the old local customs and practices. There is no harm in that except that when you plan on a big scale, when you go ahead, all these things come in the way of that. Of course, so far as any industrial or scientific advance is concerned, it makes all the difference in the world as to what your measures are. In fact, all over the world, so far as science is concerned, there is only one measure, that is, the metric system, even though in popular parlance something else may be used. In fact, even in some of the very very conservative countries like England—England is a very conservative country—they are being compelled to get out of their old ruts. Otherwise, it comes in their way. Take the question of coinage. Even in our daily transactions, in everything, because we are used to something, naturally, it is a little easier for us at the moment. But, actually it is a much more complicated system whether it is your accounting, your petty shop-keeper's accounts or the Accountant General's or Auditor General's accounts. It all comes in the way. It comes in the way much more in your statistical apparatus. Honourable Members may know that there are machines which do statistical work. It is something amazing. We have got what are called thinking machines. We have got machines that memorise. We have got machines which do a work, say, in five minutes, a work which it may take six months to do with a corps of people sitting down to do it. All this cannot be done unless there is some definite system like the metric system. It is quite impossible for a machine to think. When I say think, it does not actually think. It only reproduces what you have told it before. If you tell it, the machine memorises it. All these advances are held up. In fact, even in India, we have produced recently not very complicated machines, but nevertheless, fairly good calculating machines. We do surveys and other things. These surveys would be tremendously complicated unless we have machines which memorise and tell us census surveys, etc.

What I wish to submit to the House is that in our planning and development work, to which we are committed in a big way, we have to adopt certain systems and standards which, apart from being internationally recognised, are the easiest for the purpose. Otherwise, we are held up. Otherwise, we have to

4. The arguments in favour of the metric system were that it was more widely prevalent, it was used in scientific and technical research, and it was simpler and therefore, more advantageous in mass education.

proceed in two separate grooves of thought and action. That is, in one compartment of our life, in our industrial and other work we do things in one way and in other smaller things, we do in another way, which produces confusion. It is true that every change involves some initial difficulty. The first thing that I would like this House to remember is, if any country can be said to have evolved the metric system, it is India. It has been the proud privilege of India, not today but, I should imagine, about 1500 years ago or more—no exact date is available—to evolve the basic things on which the metric system has developed. The very first thing, of course, was that wonderful discovery of a genius, the zero sign, *sunya*, which completely changed the whole mental picture of the world as it spread towards the Arab world and then towards Europe and other countries there. Almost a part of that was, not exactly the metric system, of course, as we know it, but the very basis on which it was evolved, so that it is essentially an Indian system insofar as its origin is concerned. It was developed more in other countries because we became rather static. It should be our pleasure and pride to revert to something which originally saw the light of day in the mind of an Indian genius or geniuses. This is a sentimental argument.

The real thing is that this change has to come, if I may say so, in every country in the world today. It cannot escape it. The more you delay it, the more difficult it becomes. Because, if things are calculated in the other way, you have to change them, convert them and translate them at every step and that means not only delay now, but confusion later.

I do not quite know what papers have been circulated. This particular question has been before the country for a large number of years. There have been all kinds of reports, carefully analysed reports. I do not know the exact period; I know that one of the very first things that we as a Government had to consider when we came into the Government of India, I think it is nearly eight and a half years ago, was this business.<sup>5</sup> We approved of it as a Government. But, then, as the House knows, all kinds of trouble took place. Independence came; there was the partition and other troubles. They came in the way. This was postponed. Now, lately, we have been feeling, more especially in connection with the Second Five Year Plan, that if we do not start this process of change now, because the process itself will take time—I am not merely referring to the coinage but to the other things, but undoubtedly we should go on gradually with public education and all the rest of it; it may take two years, three years, four years, five years, for the complete change to come, I cannot—if we do not start it now, it will seriously affect our developmental and planning work

5. A Decimal Coinage Bill was introduced in the Central Legislature on 18 February 1946 but the prevailing political conditions made it impossible to proceed with it. For Nehru's views on the measure, see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 15, pp. 607-608.



and impede it in various ways and we may have to come back, change our calculations later. It is this that brought a sense of urgency apart from the normal desire to do so.

Now, I can understand very well some of the sentimental arguments—I do not use the word “sentimental” in a bad sense because we are all sentimental in regard to very many things to which we are attached, sometimes rightly so—nevertheless one cannot be swept away by those arguments when we have to face a hard problem and when we see that something is really for the good of the country, which may really, on the one hand, bring a great deal of help to the country in proceeding on its way, and on the other, if we do not implement it, it will hinder it.

As honourable Member who was just speaking said something about consulting the country.<sup>6</sup> As I said, this is not a new thing, but I must confess that in a matter of this kind rather scientific, technical kind, one does not normally consult the country. One does not consult the country, let us say about mathematical formulae or about the theory of relativity. It is not fair to go about and explain it to the country. We must take the responsibility for it entirely. If we think it is right, then it is right.

As I said, so far as the nomenclature was concerned, I am dealing with coinage only—there is the question of the rupee. Well, the rupee is a well known term in India, not today but for a long time past. There is the paisa, there are other words. Of course, there is no question of changing the rupee. For my part—I do not know exactly what the terminology here is—I am inclined to think paisa is a good word and it will be a good thing if it remains. May be the value of the paisa may be slightly different, but that does not matter. Let us have paisa by all means. There is only one difficulty about it and that is during a slight period of transition there will be confusion about the value of the paisa, not the rupee. There might be some confusion and some people may make undue profit by that confusion. One can consider that matter carefully how to avoid that. It is a matter for consideration. So that you have this old well-known term of rupee or rupya. Perhaps the House knows that even in Indonesia the coin is rupya as it is called. It has a different value... Of course, the rupya in Indonesia is worth considerably less than our rupee, but that is a different matter. But, obviously, the word has gone from India to Indonesia, so that it is not very much a question of changing the name. The rupee obviously is firmly established. In Ceylon you have the rupee also, but there, apart from the rupee they have cents for a long time past. In fact, when the change came there in Ceylon, I forget when, but a long time ago, even then, I remember it,

6. Referring to the easy Indian mathematical calculations and citing Mahatma Gandhi's opposition to this measure in 1946, U.M. Trivedi had asked for the Bill to be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion.

there was some talk of bringing it in India, but it did not take place. So that, I submit that from the point of view of getting on the right track in regard to all these tremendous developments in modern technology, science etc., we should adopt this metric system which is a product of an Indian mind, original and adapt it...

The decimal system, you are right, but this has come out of it. In regard to nomenclature, we should endeavour insofar as is possible to keep the old Indian names. I do submit that this question, viewed objectively, is not open really to argument in the world today, and we have to face in any change certain difficulties, but the difficulties will be far greater if the change comes later, and somehow or other the change will have to come.

So, I submit that this House should whole-heartedly adopt this measure.<sup>7</sup>

7. The Bill was passed on 29 July 1955 after further debate.

#### 4. To Gulzarilal Nanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
30 July 1955

My dear Gulzarilal,<sup>2</sup>

Some little time ago you sent me, or the Planning Commission sent me, a kind of summary of the Report of the Prohibition Committee appointed by you.<sup>3</sup> I read the summary. Practically it consists of recommendations only.<sup>4</sup> What I am interested in is the consideration of the subject in all its aspect. It may be that

1. File No. 2(244)/48-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Planning.
3. The Prohibition Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Planning Commission in December 1954 under the chairmanship of Shriman Narayan, submitted a summary of the main recommendations in June 1955. The final report, submitted on 10 September 1955, was signed by Sucheta Kripalani, Bhasker Patel, P.J. Thomas, S.R. Vasavada, Jaglal Choudhry, R.N. Samarth, G. Ramachandran, N.S. Varadachari and P. Kodanda Rao. Later Kodanda Rao submitted a note of dissent on 18 October 1955.
4. The Committee recommended that prohibition should be regarded as an integral part of the Second Plan and suggested a national programme for prohibition with a target date of 1 April 1958 for complete nation-wide prohibition. Enforcement should proceed along two lines: (a) educative and preventive and (b) legal and administrative with proper coordination between them. Regarding financial aspects, the Committee felt that the fall in excise revenue should be integrated with the general financial proposals of each state and additional taxation should not be linked with prohibition and the Union Government should give adequate assistance.



the full report will give that consideration. As it is, we can hardly discuss this because there is no discussion of the difficulties.

One may rule out, if necessary, the financial aspect. I do not want mere finances to come in the way of any important social reform. But the really important feature is how far prohibition, as applied in some places in India, has led to large-scale illicit making of liquor and law breaking. How can this be prevented? Merely to say that we should have stronger forces to prevent law breaking is not adequate because this very machinery tends to break down and become corrupted. This breaking down of the official machinery and the growth of law breaking leads to dangerous social consequences.<sup>5</sup>

It is this basic question that has to be considered. I am anxious that prohibition should succeed, but I am by no means clear in my mind that it will do so by mere repetition of our desire or by ever stronger legislation and police measures. I have had quite a number of cases pointed out to me where the police and our officials themselves go to pieces and are corrupted.

Again, there is rather a casual reference in the summary report to the North East Frontier Agency and the tribal areas in the North East.<sup>6</sup> It is said that somebody from these areas came and told the Committee that they would like prohibition and therefore the Committee feels that prohibition should be extended there. I have no idea of what type of enquiry was made and how far it went. But I am rather alarmed at the casual way this very difficult question in the North East has been treated. We are dealing today there with a rebellious movement which is non-cooperating with every aspect of Government.<sup>7</sup> In fact Government only functions in a small way in some of the areas, say in the

5. For enforcement, the suggestions were: appointment of an Administrator of Prohibition to coordinate between the two wings of the enforcement machinery, setting up of prohibition boards at the state levels with prohibition committees at district, village and *mohalla* levels, prohibition act for every state, mobile police squads, amendments to the existing laws, stopping of illicit distillation and trade, education through schools and press, setting up of a central research institute for study of mental and physical disorders and psychological problems connected with alcoholism, setting up a central committee to coordinate the activities in different states and to review the progress of prohibition.
6. The Committee said that while general policy of prohibition should be applicable to all tribal areas, there was need for further study of the problem in the scheduled areas of NEFA, Manipur and Tripura. Enforcement in the tribal areas should be mainly through the educative process; penal action should be resorted to only for preventing illicit trade in and from such areas. In the belts surrounding predominantly tribal areas where there was mixed population, prohibition should be strictly enforced as in the case of other areas.
7. Violence in the area had increased due to the activities of NNC, see also *ante*, pp. 131-133.

Naga Hills. For us to imagine that we are going to impose prohibition there in these circumstances seems to me rather optimistic. This may well become a strong weapon in the hands of the rebellious elements.

I am just pointing out one or two aspects which have struck me on reading this brief report. I hope that the fuller report will answer some of my questions.<sup>8</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Nanda replied on the same day that while he supported prohibition fully, precious resources could not be thrown away at this juncture for "just a shadow and not the substance of the reform." He quoted Shriman Narayan that ways could be devised for effective enforcement.

## 5. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
31 July 1955

My dear Morarji,

On my arrival here on return from my tour, I received a letter from you dated 8th July which I find has not been answered yet.<sup>2</sup> In this you refer to a statement by Mahalanobis in regard to prohibition.<sup>3</sup>

I agree with you that it would have been better for Mahalanobis not to express himself so categorically in regard to this matter, though, as you say, we cannot be too strict in restricting people's expression of opinion. Mahalanobis is not a Government servant in the normal sense of the word. We do not pay him anything. He is an honorary adviser to us in regard to statistics especially.

I am anxious to further the cause of prohibition, even though I do not like

1. File No. 2(244)/48-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Referring to P.C. Mahalanobis' interview in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 18 June 1955 on prohibition, Desai had written that such statements from highly placed persons would adversely affect public opinion and dampen the enthusiasm of people engaged in implementing the Directive Principle relative to prohibition. He wrote that persons in such positions should observe restraint and refrain from expressing views antagonistic to the accepted policy of the Government.
3. Mahalanobis had questioned the prohibition policy on ideological, financial and practical grounds.



bringing any sin about this business. I do not like in fact almost any question being discussed on the basis of its being a sin. Certainly the moral issue should be considered. That is important.

I am not very much concerned with the economic aspect, that is, the loss of revenue.<sup>4</sup> If a thing is basically good from the moral point of view, we should not mind the loss of revenue. The most that is desirable is that the changeover should be phased. What I am concerned with, however, is the practical aspect of enforcement. I should therefore like to know as fully as possible what the present position is in regard to smuggling, illicit distillation and the rest. I am anxious that the habit of law-breaking does not become common. If this becomes common, it affects not only prohibition but larger issues. The whole structure and prestige of the law is involved and people become callous about it. It is this aspect which troubles me. There is a limit to increasing enforcement agencies. If they become too big and widespread, it is difficult to control them and there may well be a good deal of corruption in them. Also people should not have a sensation of being constantly watched and spied upon by the police or special agencies. Enforcement is of course necessary, but the major ground on which we have to base future policy is the strength of public opinion and the cooperation we expect to get from it.

I have seen a brief summary of the report of the Prohibition Enquiry Committee presided over by Shriman Narayan Agarwal. This summary only gives conclusions and therefore it is of no help at all for a proper consideration of the subject. I shall await the fuller report. One thing in the summary, however, alarmed me. It is suggested in it that prohibition should be introduced in the tribal areas in the North East Frontier Province. On what evidence they have made this proposal, I do not know.

This North East area and especially the Naga area is almost in a state of incipient rebellion and Government's writ does not even run all over. There is violence and sabotage in places and often complete non-cooperation. It is quite impossible for us to enforce prohibition there and any attempt to do so would make the functioning of Government even more difficult than it is today.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Desai replied on 25 August that the estimated annual loss of Rs twelve crores on account of total prohibition had been more than replaced by the sales tax yielding a revenue of over Rs sixteen crores.

## 6. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
1 August 1955

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st August about the State Insurance Scheme<sup>2</sup> to which reference had been made by the Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin.<sup>3</sup>

The various points you have mentioned have, of course, to be carefully considered. If there is any lacuna in the Constitution in regard to this matter, that will have to be remedied.

I feel that ultimately the State will have to take up the insurance business. In what form it should take it up or in what stages it should do so, is another matter. I do not think we need worry about the State competing with private companies. The only consideration should be the advantage to the community.

Insurance is at a low level in India, and we shall have to consider how best to advance it. It is conceivable that the State taking it up too early might be an impediment to rapid advance.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(7)/56-PMS.
2. Deshmukh had referred to the Attorney General's opinion that under the existing constitutional provisions, the Central and state governments had no "implied power enabling them to carry on industrial or commercial undertakings, not related to matters falling within their legislative competence", suitable amendments were required. The Constitution Amendment Committee of the Cabinet and the Law Ministry were consulting the state governments on this subject.
3. Nehru wrote to Govinda Menon on 1 August 1955 (not printed): "Personally, I think for broad reasons of state policy, insurance should ultimately be a state concern..."

## 7. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
11 August 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I wish to bring to your notice again the very difficult situation that has arisen

1. JN Collection. Also available in G. Parthasarathi (Ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 250-251.



in regard to the refugee influx from East Pakistan to West Bengal.<sup>2</sup> This influx is continuing and has shown little signs of abating. The situation in Pakistan has been in a state of flux. A new Government has been formed there.<sup>3</sup> We shall, of course, try to do our best to stop or limit this movement.

But, apart from what the future might hold, the present itself is very difficult. You will remember that, at a meeting of the National Development Council held some months ago, this matter was particularly referred to. It is a question of national importance and it is not possible to solve it unless all our States offer their help and cooperation. I am glad that some States have offered land for this purpose. So far as I know, Bihar, Orissa and Hyderabad have done so. This is not enough, and I seek your assistance. We cannot allow a hard-pressed State of West Bengal to carry this tremendous burden by itself. I earnestly hope that you will give this matter your consideration. I realize very well the difficulties of many of our States, but the difficulty of Bengal is a far greater one.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The unending trail of refugees from East Pakistan to West Bengal started in 1946 following the pre-partition disturbances with spurts, in 1947 during partition, in 1948 after police action in Hyderabad, in December 1949 with anti-Hindu riots in Khulna and Barisal, in 1952 following rumours about passport issue and worsening economic situation. From 1953 the influx showed a steady increase. In 1954 about 1.18 lakhs people migrated to India and in 1955 nearly 2.40 lakhs Hindus crossed over following the unrest in East Pakistan over the language issue.
3. On 7 August, 1955, Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali became the Prime Minister of Pakistan after Mohammad Ali Bogra had resigned following his failure to form a coalition government. Earlier on 5 August, Iskander Mirza took over as acting Governor General after Ghulam Mohammad proceeded on two months' leave.

## 8. Anomalies and Absurdities in Service Rules<sup>1</sup>

On several occasions I have drawn the attention of the Cabinet to certain anomalies and absurdities in the rules applied to ICS officers and certain other

1. Note to the Home Minister, 24 August 1955. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to the Cabinet Secretary.

categories of officers. Some of these were not merely anomalies, but I considered them insulting to Free India.

2. On the last occasion this was brought up before the Cabinet, the Home Ministry undertook to consider this and put up proposals.<sup>2</sup> Nothing has been done, although a long time has elapsed.

3. Apart from the special privileges to certain types of Government servants, which are wholly out of keeping both with the spirit of our Constitution and the temper of the time, it appears that the normal rules still governing many of our activities date back to the middle thirties. Thus, I understand that a Cabinet Minister is supposed to carry ten servants with him when he is travelling and also a car. Of course no one does that, but still it is surely absurd to carry on these old rules when everything in India has changed and there is a new Constitution and all that.

4. These old rules perpetuate a caste system in our services, which is highly undesirable. The least we can do is to set our face against this and try to put an end to it. Unfortunately, our Constitution has given some guarantees. I think it is unbecoming for any person to accept these guarantees. However, there they are and we shall have to deal with them separately. But there is absolutely no reason why we should continue to have all kinds of rules which perpetuate these caste distinctions in the services.

5. The Auditor General submitted a long report on the reorganisation of Services a year or more ago.<sup>3</sup> I do not know if much attention has been given to this report. This report, so far as I remember, was based on trying to remove these old distinctions and privileges. It also recommended that certain technical services like Engineering, Forests and Agriculture should be on an all India basis.

6. I am particularly anxious that something should be done in this matter of special privileges as soon as possible. In any event the new IAS should be kept away from this old system and a measure of equality should be encouraged.

7. Since this has taken such a long time already, I suggest that a Committee of three persons—one from the Home Ministry, one from Finance and the Cabinet Secretary as Chairman might be appointed to deal with this entire matter and report to the Cabinet within a month's time.

8. I should like to suggest something, which is referred to previously. This is that Ministers should have the same privilege as other MPs in regard to travelling free on railways.

2. On the question of privileges given to ICS officers, the Cabinet decided on 6 February 1953 that the Home Ministry, in consultation with the External Affairs Ministry, would examine the matter and put up proposals to the Cabinet.

3. Asok Kumar Chanda, Comptroller and Auditor General at this time, had sent his report in May 1954 when he was Secretary in the Ministry of Production. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 288-292.



## 9. Minority Representation in the Services<sup>1</sup>

As you know, I am much concerned at the smallness of minority representation in our Services. I have been looking into the figures of the Secretariat staff in the PM's Office.<sup>2</sup> I attach a paper showing this. This is highly unsatisfactory in so far as the minorities are concerned.

I should like some kind of like figures to be collected from the various Ministries of the Government of India. Also in regard to the governmental undertakings. Could you please have this done? Perhaps the Home Ministry is the best agency to do it. Anyhow you can exercise your discretion in this matter.

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 26 August 1955. JN Collection.
2. A note on the Secretariat staff in the Prime Minister's office, submitted by M.O. Mathai on 22 August 1955, revealed that out of 112 employees ninety-five were Hindus, seven belonged to Scheduled Castes, seven were Sikhs, one Muslim and two Christians. Except Amie Crishna, who was a class II gazetted officer, all other minority community members were either clerks or peons.

## II. STATE GOVERNMENTS

### 1. To Ravi Shankar Shukla<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
14 July 1955

My dear Shuklaji,

Thank you for your telegram of welcome.

When I went to the Vatican, I had a talk with the Pope.<sup>2</sup> After that, I met the Vatican Secretary of State with whom also I had a talk.<sup>3</sup> In the course of our

1. File No. 33(111)/52-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to G.B. Pant.
2. On 8 July 1955.
3. In fact, M. Beniamino Nardone, Secretary of the Vatican ceremonial congregation, received Nehru, and had about 15 minutes' talk with him after his meeting with the Pope.

conversation, he specially mentioned that unfortunately conditions in Madhya Pradesh were not happy.

I am passing this on to you as unfortunately Madhya Pradesh is getting a bad reputation abroad in regard to the treatment to Christians, and especially Catholics.

The External Affairs Ministry has received another complaint from Nagpur stating that Inspectors of Schools have been going to various Catholic Schools with police escort and school registers have been seized from these private schools<sup>4</sup> and presumably for the Enquiry Committee.<sup>5</sup> This seems rather an odd way of proceeding. It is also mentioned that 400 out of 482 or so school children from Catholic Primary schools have failed in the last examination.<sup>6</sup>

I understand that our Home Minister has also received a communication drawing attention to certain matters of complaints.

I do hope that you will do something to get rid of this general impression that Catholics are being persecuted in Madhya Pradesh.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 1 August 1955, R.S. Shukla replied that the District Inspector of Schools, Raigarh, conducted investigations into the complaints of changing Hindu names of newly admitted boys into Christian names during the summer vacation and the seized registers were returned before the end of the vacation. Police constables had to be taken as a precaution against untoward incidents which took place on earlier occasions.
5. The reference is to Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry Committee appointed by the MP Government in April 1954 on allegations against activities of Christian Missionaries. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, p. 439.
6. In this matter, Shukla had enclosed the report of the Director of Public Instructions, E.W. Franklin, an Indian Christian, pointing out that if any injustice had been done, the missionaries would not have hesitated to bring this to his notice.



## 2. To B.N. Datar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 July 1955

My dear Datar,<sup>2</sup>

I have received a telegram from Belgaum, copy of which I enclose.<sup>3</sup> Will you please let me know if the report of your statement is correctly made in this telegram?<sup>4</sup> You know that the States Reorganisation Commission have made no recommendation of any kind yet. Certainly I am not aware of any, and, therefore, to state that they have made any recommendation is incorrect. Ministers have to be particularly careful as to what they say. Your statement, if true, will embarrass the Commission as well as the Government.

Please let me know what the facts are.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. B.N. Datar (1894-1963); member, Lok Sabha, 1952-63; Union Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, 1952-55; Minister of State for Home Affairs, 1955-63.
3. The President of Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti had drawn Nehru's attention on 13 July 1955 to a statement made by Datar at Hyderabad on 8 July that in consequence of recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, Belgaum would be part of the Karnataka State which had disturbed the Marathi speaking population of Belgaum and was likely to create distrust in the Commission and tension in the area.
4. About this meeting with the Kannadigas, the PTI reported that Datar had said that personally he hoped that a Samyukta Karnataka State would be formed. There were favourable signs and the Government of India had noted the change in the attitude of the Mysore Government on this issue.

### 3. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
24 July 1955

My dear Prakasa,<sup>2</sup>

Your telegram of July 22.<sup>3</sup> I spoke to Kamaraj<sup>4</sup> and Subramaniam<sup>5</sup> on the subject and expressed myself rather strongly, pointing out that what Ramaswami Naicker<sup>6</sup> was doing was nothing short of high treason and should be dealt with as such. They both said that they were going to take action. I did not pursue the matter any further. But I am seeing them again tomorrow.<sup>7</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Madras.
3. Sri Prakasa had written about proposed demonstrations on 1 August 1955 throughout Tamil Nadu in which Dravida Kazhagam wanted to burn the National Flag as a protest against the Union Government's move towards compulsory introduction of Hindi. Sri Prakasa had also discussed with Kamaraj, the desirability of arresting Ramaswami Naicker.
4. K. Kamaraj Nadar, Chief Minister of Madras.
5. C. Subramaniam, Minister in the Madras Government.
6. E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, Dravida Kazhagam leader.
7. Ramaswami Naicker withdrew the proposed demonstrations on 29 July in view of the statement issued by Kamaraj on the same day to the effect that neither the State Government nor the Government of India would take any steps likely to prejudice the interests of the non-Hindi speaking people.

### 4. Renaming of Delhi Roads<sup>1</sup>

I am alarmed at the Chief Commissioner's wholesale approach to this question.<sup>2</sup> If we go about changing all these names, there will be complete confusion in New Delhi. Also this kind of artificial naming of roads en masse can never lead to satisfactory results.

1. Note to the Home Secretary, 24 July 1955. File No. 2(755)/55-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi had proposed the renaming of all roads, avenues and lanes of Delhi.



2. Therefore, we must proceed cautiously and bit by bit. Also, there is no question of translating the name of a road. I think that we should take up just a few principal roads to begin with and rename them.

3. It is a little dangerous to go to Professors of History and Archaeology in such matters. The common man in the street is likely to be a better adviser.

4. The matter was mentioned in Cabinet the other day. I forget now if a committee was appointed or not. You might enquire from the Cabinet Secretary.

5. I think, for the present, we should change the names of:

- a) Great Place
- b) Kingsway
- c) Queensway
- d) Princes' Circle (or whatever it is called)
- e) Albuquerque Road.

The following names are suggested for consideration:

- a) Great Place - Vijay Chowk
- b) Kingsway - Rajpath
- c) Queensway - Jan Path
- d) Princes' Circle:

This should somehow be connected, I think, with the 15th August. This is the place where the first great celebration took place which we all remember. I think Azad Maidan is as good as any name I can think of. This place is used as an open air place and large numbers of people assemble here.

- e) Albuquerque Road:

In regard to Albuquerque Road I am making a suggestion which might surprise people, and yet I think it is very appropriate. It should be called "Tees January ki Sarak". It is appropriate and will constantly remind people of the date.

In Paris, there are number of roads like this—Fourth February Road and so on—commemorating big events.

Applying the same principle, I would not mind calling the Princes' Circle or the Maidan in front as "Pandrah August ka Maidan"

6. This approach, though novel for India, has a certain realism about it. It does not mean thrusting a name from above.<sup>3</sup>

3. In a Cabinet meeting on 27 July 1955, it was decided to rename eight roads and places, of which five names were approved:- (1) Great Place—Vijay Chowk, (2) Kingsway—Raj Path, (3) Queensway—Jan Path, (4) Princes' Circle—Pandrah August Ka Maidan, (5) Albuquerque Road—Tees January Marg. The remaining three were King Edward Road, Queen Victoria Road and King George's Avenue.

7. I must say that most of the names given by the Chief Commissioner have no relation to reality or to anything. They are the type of work that Dr Raghu Vira produces out of the hat.

8. I think it is quite absurd to call Connaught Circus "Ashoka Sthan". I do not wish to associate Ashoka with a market place.

9. I do not think it is necessary to change the names of other roads or places. This has to be done very slowly and gradually as people get used to it. We have also to see people's reactions.<sup>4</sup>

4. In a note to Home Secretary on 12 August (not printed), Nehru said that the *Nagari* spellings should be तीस जनवरी मार्ग, पन्द्रह अगस्त मैदान, पंचशील and Roman should be Teen Murti Marg.

## 5. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
29 July 1955

My dear Pantji,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose a letter from Brij Krishan Chandiwalla.<sup>3</sup> He has been much exercised about the slum conditions in Delhi and I entirely agree with him. There are slum conditions, of course, in almost every big city in India. To some extent I feel we are more responsible for Delhi which is our principal show-window for foreign countries. I know the task of removing all these slums is a tremendous one, but surely we can make a beginning. I have written to the Planning Commission about it.<sup>4</sup>

Brij Krishan makes one or two suggestions<sup>5</sup> which, I think, are worthy of consideration. One is that some of these slum *katras*, which are vested under

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister of Home Affairs.
3. On 19 July 1955, Chandiwalla, Convenor of the Delhi branch of Bharat Sevak Samaj, had written about the inhuman conditions of the slums in Delhi.
4. In a letter dated 27 July to V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission (not printed), Nehru had emphasized the need to stop unauthorised construction in Delhi and to start slum clearance.
5. To improve their living conditions, he had suggested their takeover by the Government from the Custodian of Evacuee Properties and acquisition of the rest under Article 31 of the Constitution with a minimum compensation. He also suggested that these be declared protected areas or slum areas to be managed by administrators appointed by the State Government.



the control of the Custodian, should be taken over by Government. I think this might well be done. I have suggested this to Mehr Chand Khanna.

The second suggestion is that some of these areas should be declared protected areas or slum areas and notified as such. I suppose this also can be done. Anyhow this matter should be looked into.

I shall be grateful if your Ministry, in consultation with the Delhi Administration, takes some such step.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
29 July 1955

My dear Jairamdas,<sup>2</sup>

...When Medhi was here last time, he spoke to me about the behaviour and activities of Nichols Roy<sup>3</sup> about a separate hill state. I think that Nichols Roy has not been acting as he should. I do not mind, even though I may not like it, his advocacy for a separate state. But no Minister can go about agitating for it. This is not only against ministerial conventions, but also against the specific rule laid down by the Congress Working Committee in this matter.

I should like you to send for Nichols Roy and speak to him about this matter. Tell him that you do so at my request. There is no point in shouting about a hill state now. The States Reorganisation Commission will be issuing its report probably by the end of September.<sup>4</sup> Shouting will make no difference to their report now and so the least Nichols Roy can do is to remain quiet and not carry on an agitation, public or private. It is unbecoming in a Minister to function as he has been doing in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Governor of Assam.

3. J.J.M. Nichols Roy, Minister, Assam Government.

4. The States Reorganisation Commission submitted its report on 30 September 1955.

## 7. Planning for Delhi<sup>1</sup>

Some time ago the Cabinet decided in favour of the setting up of a central authority for planning for Delhi city, including both old and New Delhi. Although this decision was made some months ago, no progress has been made and it appears that nothing will be done for another few months. It is now suggested that pending the establishment of this authority, some legislative measure should be passed immediately checking the uncontrolled building operations that are taking place in all sides of this rapidly growing city.

Sometimes when I go to the suburbs of New or old Delhi, I am amazed at the unplanned way in which buildings are being put up. Delhi is a great city and it will undoubtedly grow in the future. It is essential, therefore, that we should think about this future and not allow this haphazard growth, which will come in our way in the future.

I am told, though I have not seen it, that the Lodhi Gardens which were so attractive, are partially ruined now by constructions. In the open space between the Red Fort and the main city proper, constructions have been made limiting this open space. Many of these constructions are on behalf of government. I tried to stop this encroachment on a very precious open area in front of the crowded city of Delhi but I confess that I failed.

Multi-storeyed government offices and other buildings are being put up in Delhi. But, as far as I can see, little regard has been paid to the width of road in front of them. The old roads in New Delhi were made at a time when there was hardly any traffic and the houses were single-storeyed houses. Obviously when multi-storeyed houses go up, traffic increases greatly and the old narrow roads are totally inadequate.

There are many other considerations of grace and beauty in a city which have to be borne in mind. But the immediate necessities are to prevent open spaces being encroached upon, to think of broad roads and to have the usual amenities which a modern city should provide.

There are so many authorities in Delhi that I do not even know their number. They all overlap each other and it is exceedingly difficult to get anything done. It was for this reason that one authority was proposed and accepted in principle. I do hope that very early effect will be given to this and, to begin with something will be done to prevent constructions going up without careful consideration.

1. Note, 1 August 1955. File No. PC/CDN/1/1/56, Planning Commission. Also available in JN Collection and File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS.



The Health Minister has sent me a scheme for some kind of a national park in Delhi which should not be built over. This includes Rajghat and all the land upto the Jamuna and roundabout; also the Red Fort and the land in front of it right up to the city. The idea seems to me an attractive one and worthy of consideration.

In this note no particular suggestion or proposal is put forward. There are proposals already. All I wish is to draw urgent attention to a matter of vital concern for Delhi.

## 8. To C.P.N. Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

9 August 1955

My dear C.P.N.,<sup>2</sup>

I received your letter of August 8 today on my return to Delhi.

We discussed some days ago the question of the Akalis under detention.<sup>3</sup> At our meeting then, Maulana Azad, Pantji, Sachar<sup>4</sup> and Partap Singh<sup>5</sup> were present. Also, I think, one or two other Punjab Ministers and the Congress President.<sup>6</sup>

After some discussion, the advice we gave them was more or less as follows: In the normal course, most of these Akali prisoners and, indeed, all of them, would have to be released within one or two months. If they are put up for

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor of Punjab.

3. The Akali Dal had launched a *morcha* on 10 May 1955 against the ban imposed by a Punjab Government Order of 10 April 1955 forbidding the shouting of slogans, holding of processions and demonstrations for the reorganisation of the Punjab on a linguistic basis. During the next two months, several thousand Akalis courted arrest by shouting such slogans in the presence of police. The ban was lifted on 12 July.

4. Bhimsen Sachar, Chief Minister of Punjab.

5. Partap Singh Kairon (1901-65); was associated with Ghaddar Party in America; joined Congress, 1929; participated in freedom movement and was jailed several times; General Secretary, Punjab PCC, 1939-46; President, Punjab PCC, 1950-52; member, CWC, 1946-53, 1958, member, Constituent Assembly; Minister in Punjab Government, 1947-49, Development Minister, 1952-56, Chief Minister, January 1956-June 1964; resigned as a sequel to the Das Commission Report on 21 June 1964; assassinated on 6 February 1965 near Delhi.

6. U.N. Dhebar.

trial, it is hardly likely that they will get a sentence of more than a month, although the maximum is somewhat more. But many of them have already been in prison for two months or more, and then a new situation has been created by the withdrawal of the ban and the *morcha*. Therefore, one may expect the release of most of these Akali prisoners, through a court's order or after serving their term of imprisonment, within a month or two. Indeed, a judge might well say that, since they have been in prison for two months already, it is not necessary for them to stay longer there.

Also, there is no particular point in keeping large numbers in prison, most of them being simple folk. Therefore, it was suggested that there should be progressive release of these Akalis. The persons who should not be released in the first instance should be: (1) the leaders of *jathas* and important organisers and (2) those who had come from other States. The position is to be reviewed from time to time.

We were told that there were six thousand prisoners at present. We suggested that, subject to what is said above, they should be released in groups, that is the release should be phased. After another two weeks or so, we can consider the situation. But, generally speaking, the important leaders should not be released for the present.

I see all kinds of wrong reports appearing in the press. Someone has said that I have refused to see Tara Singh.<sup>7</sup> What I have said is this, that I am not going to invite these gentlemen, but I am always prepared to see anyone, subject to time, who wishes to see me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Akali Dal led by Tara Singh had proposed a Sikh-majority Punjabi *suba* with Pepsu, parts of the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. The Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh had demanded the union of all three states in a "Greater Punjab" (Maha Punjab) with a Hindu majority. Tara Singh was arrested on 10 May and was sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment with a fine of Rs four hundred on 13 August 1955.



## 9. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

13 August 1955

My dear Pantji,

Sardar Hukam Singh<sup>2</sup> came to see me today and we had about an hour's talk. Much of the talk was about the past. He began by saying that the Sikhs had blind faith in me and that we could take an assurance from them against violence whatever happens and even if decisions are against them. I asked him later how far he was speaking for others, notably Master Tara Singh. He said that he certainly thought that Master Tara Singh would say the same thing to me if he had the chance and came out of prison. That was his clear impression.

Then he complained of people maligning the Sikhs, calling them anti-nationals and accusing them of treasonable activities, etc. etc. He referred to the Chairman of the Public Service Commission of the Punjab, Vishnu Bhagwan,<sup>3</sup> who has always had a reputation of having an animus against Sikhs even as Home Secretary. He asked me to enquire from even the Sikh Ministers of the Government, more particularly Ujjal Singh.<sup>4</sup> They were prepared to accept the decisions of the Public Service Commission. But when it was well known that the Chairman was against the Sikhs, it was natural for them to feel dissatisfied. As for the Sikh Member,<sup>5</sup> he was a complete stooge and had no opinion of his own and was afraid of the Chairman. Even so, he complained.

If in the Punjab both the Sikhs and the Hindus were communal-minded, the result naturally would be that the minority (communal) community would suffer from the majority (communal) community.

Then he referred to Jagat Narain,<sup>6</sup> whose paper openly wrote against the Punjabi language and yet he was in charge of the Punjabi Department of the

1. JN Collection.

2. Akali Dal Member of the Lok Sabha.

3. Vishnu Bhagwan (b. 1897); appointed to the (East Punjab) Provincial Civil Service, 1920; Home Secretary to the Government of East Punjab 1948; Provincial Transport Controller 1949, retired from service in 1952; Chairman, Punjab Public Service Commission, 1955-1957.

4. Ujjal Singh (b. 1895); Member, Punjab State Legislature, 1926-1956; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-1947; Minister for Industries and Civil Supplies, East Punjab Government, 1949 and for Finance and Industries, 1952-1956; Governor of Punjab, 1965-1966 and of Madras, 1966-1971.

5. Narinder Singh.

6. Jagat Narain (1899-1981); participated in freedom movement and suffered imprisonment several times; General Secretary, Punjab PCC, 1951-1954; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1952-1962; Minister, Government of Punjab, 1952-1956; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1964-1970; after Partition started *Hind Samachar*, an Urdu Daily; assassinated near Ludhiana on 9 September 1981.

Government. He referred to the non-implementation of various decisions arrived at. Finally, he mentioned the prisoners. He said that he did not know when they would be released and it would have created a very good impression if they had come out, etc.

I concluded the interview after an hour because I had other work to do. But I have promised to see him after a week. I do not quite know what the Punjab Government has decided upon the prisoners' issue.<sup>7</sup> But I think something should be done to give a push to it.

I enclose a letter which Sardar Hukam Singh sent me a day ago.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Sachar informed Nehru on 25 August 1955 that 3,000 out of 4,932 prisoners were expected to be released. On 26 August, Nehru advised Sachar about the undesirability of keeping the remaining 2000 prisoners indefinitely in jail without trial which had a continuous irritating effect.

## 10. To Pattom A. Thanu Pillai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
16 August 1955

My dear Thanu Pillai,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 9th August.<sup>3</sup>

It is obviously impossible for me to give any opinion about an individual case without examining all the facts and circumstances. There is no doubt that some of the occurrences last year were deplorable<sup>4</sup> and, as I told you then, if

1. File No. 7(300)/54-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to P. Govinda Menon.
2. PSP leader and former Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin.
3. Thanu Pillai, had drawn Nehru's attention to the reports that the question of withdrawal of cases against Travancore Tamil Nad Congressmen involved in violent agitation in July-August 1954 for merger of Tamil *talukas* of Travancore with Madras was being considered. He stated that this would be contrary to Nehru's earlier assurance given to him in October 1954 and February 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, pp. 537-539.
4. The PSP ministry headed by Thanu Pillai took office in Travancore-Cochin in March 1954 with Congress support. On 8 February 1955 this was brought down by Congress through a no-confidence motion and a Congress ministry headed by P. Govinda Menon assumed office with the support of twelve TTNC members of Travancore-Cochin Assembly.



any person was seriously guilty I thought he should be proceeded against. Now over a year is past, and I gather that hundreds of people are involved in them. The charges in respect of many of them are speeches, in respect of others alleged acts of violence.<sup>5</sup> After this lapse of a full year, the desirability of proceeding with cases which are likely to be prolonged for indefinite periods, is obviously less than it was previously.

This matter, I understand, was referred to the Home Ministry here, and the advice of the Home Minister was that, after this lapse of time, there is not much point in continuing with these cases unless there was any danger to law and order.

In the course of the next two months, the States Reorganisation Commission is likely to produce their report, and it is certainly desirable that the questions raised by that report should not be confused by long drawn out cases etc.

In these circumstances, I am unable to advise the Chief Minister definitely that he must proceed with these cases. I have to abide by the advice given by our Home Minister who considered this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Thanu Pillai pointed out that since nine out of twelve TTNC MLAs were involved in criminal cases on whose support the Congress Government was formed, the Travancore-Cochin Government would either have to withdraw these cases or to make their prosecution a farce. This would be an act of gross political immorality.

## 11. To Sri Krishna Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
16 August 1955

My dear Sri Babu,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 16th August, which gives some connected account of the troubles in Patna and Bihar.<sup>3</sup> I have read it with great distress. I do not know where our students are going to and why they insist on going to pieces.

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bihar.
3. See *ante*, p. 57.

This really is not an isolated matter. This kind of thing occurs repeatedly. Something similar is taking place in Bombay because of the Goa demonstration.

I am sorry that the Governor agreed to fly the Flag at half mast at the bidding of some rowdies.<sup>4</sup> I would never have agreed to it, whatever might have happened. So also the flags in other places. As for the National Flag being burnt, I think it is high treason. I do not know if you know who is guilty for this. But I am quite sure that this kind of thing must be dealt with severely.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. R.R. Diwakar, the Governor of Bihar reported to Nehru on 16 August that soon after the flag-hoisting ceremony at Ranchi Rajbhavan, a crowd of a few hundred gathered there and demanded to fly the Flag at half mast in the name of the student killed in Patna. They indulged in slogan shouting and brickbating injuring some senior officials also. The Governor unsuccessfully tried to reason with them and finally to avoid the repercussions of shooting in the Rajbhavan compound in an already tense situation prevailing in Bihar, allowed them to fly the Flag at half mast.

## 12. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
19 August 1955

My dear Kailas Nath,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 19th.<sup>3</sup> At the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee, or at any rate of some members of the Committee, the question of the States Reorganisation Commission was considered<sup>4</sup> and we came to the conclusion that informally we should create an atmosphere for the acceptance of the recommendations made by the Commission. It was because of this that I wrote

1. JN Collection.
2. Katju was the Union Minister for Defence.
3. Referring to Nehru's fortnightly letter to Chief Ministers about accepting the recommendations of States Reorganisation Commission and G.B. Pant's speech in Amritsar on 15 August that neither Maha Punjab nor Punjabi *suba* would materialize, Katju had written that the wisest course would be to accept the recommendations in toto, but "then we must leave to ourselves fullest freedom for that decision at the appropriate time."
4. In Berhampur on 8 and 9 May 1955 at CWC and AICC meetings.



about it in my fortnightly letter.<sup>5</sup> This of course is quite different from Government abdicating its functions or Parliament doing so.<sup>6</sup>

I do not say this in public. I do indicate sometimes that we cannot lightly set aside the recommendations of a high-powered Commission.

About the Akalis in prison, I am myself rather intrigued as to why all of them should continue there.<sup>7</sup> We have repeatedly suggested to the Punjab Government that they should release the great bulk of them in batches and watch developments. They might keep a small number of noted leaders for the present. But their cases should also be reviewed after a week or so. They agreed to this. I am writing to Sachar about it.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. See *post*, pp. 439-441.

6. Katju had reminded Nehru about his statement in the Rajya Sabha during announcement of appointment of SRC to the effect that the Government could not give an undertaking that it would accept the recommendations of SRC and the Government could not abdicate its functions. The Parliament was the supreme authority in such matters.

7. Katju had written that trial of about seven thousand Akalis arrested by the Punjab Government about three to four months ago should have taken place within a few days of their arrest and they would have been sentenced to imprisonment for not more than one to three months, the period which most of them had already spent in prison. However the question of release or trial of these people was for the Punjab Government to decide.

### 13. To Sardar Harcharan Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

20 August 1955

Dear Sardar Harcharan Singh,<sup>2</sup>

From time to time I see in the newspapers that there is internal trouble in the Pepsu Cabinet.<sup>3</sup> Reports have also reached me that you are not very cooperative

1. JN Collection.

2. Revenue Minister, Pepsu Government.

3. Claim for Chief Ministership following Raghbir Singh's death on 7 January 1955 led to estrangement between Brish Bhan, the Chief Minister of Pepsu and Harcharan Singh. Harcharan Singh walked out from a Pepsu Assembly Congress Party meeting in June, protesting against the alleged victimisation of his supporters by the Chief Minister. Brish Bhan denied the allegation.

with the other Ministers and sometimes have shown discourtesy to the Chief Minister. You will remember the talk we had when you came to see me and the advice I gave you. Our system of government and our Constitution lay down certain conventions which have to be followed. Apart from this, it is not becoming for such internal friction to be brought out in the newspapers. We must show some sense of discipline and some courtesy to our colleagues. Even if there is a difference of opinion, it has to be resolved in the normal ways. Every Cabinet, including the Central Cabinet, has members holding many different views. Nevertheless, they cooperate both publicly and privately. It is a sign of our inefficiency and lack of experience that leads to this want of cooperation in the Cabinet and to a public display of it.

We have been discussing the Five Year Plan for Pepsu. From what we have seen, it appears that Pepsu has been doing rather well and making fair progress. It is all the more surprising that when Pepsu is doing fairly well, this kind of internal conflict should come to the fore repeatedly. Our general policy, as you know, has been laid down not only by the Congress, but by the Planning Commission and Parliament. It is a progressive policy in regard to land, industry and social and economic matters. We have to pursue this policy in every way. If we do not do so, I am sure, we shall get into trouble, apart from not doing the right thing.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru





## INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS





## 1. To Bhimsen Sachar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

5 August 1955

My dear Sachar,

The Congress President has already written a letter to you and you know also that the requisition for a meeting of the Legislature Party has been withdrawn.<sup>2</sup> That ends one little difficulty. I really was not much perturbed about it.

2. What I was troubled about, however, is something quite different. It was the glimpse I have had recently of the state of affairs in the Punjab and, more especially, in the Congress and the Government there.<sup>3</sup> I feel I should write to you quite frankly about it, although I have spoken to you on the subject. We have all to learn lessons from recent happenings there and to function in a way in future which will put us right in every way.

3. When I heard on my return that you had rather suddenly withdrawn the ban,<sup>4</sup> I did not think much about it and was inclined to consider it a right move. I did not, of course, know the background then. Even now, after all the discussions we have had, I am by no means prepared to say that the withdrawal of the ban by itself was wrong. I do not know what I might have done in like circumstances and, therefore, I am not prepared to express an opinion either way.

4. But, of one thing I am quite clear in my mind and that is that the manner of withdrawing it and, indeed, the manner of dealing with the situation even previously, was not right. I am convinced that always the manner of doing a thing is very important, more especially, in democratic institutions and when we have to deal with the people generally. It is not enough to do a thing that is right. It has to be shown to be right to the people. It is never right to give them a wrong shock. That shakes them and disturbs them.

1. Bhimsen Sachar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. A requisition, signed by forty-one MLAs, was given to Sachar on 24 July 1955 for calling a party meeting to obtain its verdict on his withdrawal of the ban on shouting slogans in favour of Punjabi *suba* without consulting his Cabinet colleagues. The requisition was withdrawn on 5 August after several rounds of talks with the Congress leaders in Delhi.

3. Besides Akali agitation for a Punjabi *suba*, Sachar was also facing opposition from his Cabinet colleague Kairon. The differences between the two arose over Jagat Narain, the Health and Transport Minister. Sachar shielded him when corruption charges were levelled against him in the State Assembly, allegedly manipulated by Kairon who opposed Narain's scheme of nationalisation of motor transport as it was controlled by Sikhs who backed Kairon politically and financially.

4. On 12 July 1955.



5. My own impression is that, in the working of the Punjab Government for sometime past, there has not been that close coordination and consultation which is of the essence of our system of government and which is also essential from the point of view of our party organisation. The basis of democracy is always to make the people feel that they are in a sense part of Government or, rather, the Government is part of them. They should have the sensation of being partners and being consulted. Of course, we cannot consult them about many matters which a government deals with, and many of these are technical and complicated. Nevertheless, we should always seek to create that impression of consultation and pulling together. If this is true in the larger context, it is far more true in connection with the smaller group of the legislature party, and most true in regard to the Cabinet itself. This is the general position and, when a critical situation arises, as it progressively did during the Akali *morcha*, it became essential for you as the Head of the Government, to carry everyone with you in the Cabinet, in the Party and, as far as possible, in the general public. The police way of meeting the situation, though necessary, was the least of the steps that were to be taken. There should have been the closest understanding in the Cabinet and in the Party and an organised effort to influence public opinion and to demonstrate that what the Akalis were doing was essentially wrong even from the Sikh point of view. I do not see any such effort being made and, indeed, I have found a lack of even the normal consultations. In a matter affecting the Sikhs, it was particularly important that you and Partap Singh<sup>5</sup> and Musafir<sup>6</sup> should walk in step all the time. In fact, I would have largely thrown the burden on them, though, of course, the Chief Minister could never discard himself of that responsibility. I would have tried to use not only the Party organisation vigorously but also tried to use my Sikh officers specially, even though I might not have wholly trusted in their noncommunal spirit. The attempt itself would have affected them.

6. You will remember that, when your Government was formed, I told you quite clearly that this Government was essentially based on two persons, namely you and Partap Singh. The others really did not count very much, and I was not particularly interested as to who the others might be. While you occupied the important position of Chief Minister, Partap Singh's role was of great importance and certainly not less important than yours. Indeed, from some points of view, he was the more indispensable of the two.

7. I still hold that opinion, and I cannot conceive of any Congress Cabinet in the Punjab at present without Partap Singh. I say that not only from the point of view of the individual but from larger points of view also. It was, therefore, your particular responsibility to keep in the closest touch with Partap

5. Partap Singh Kairon, Minister for Development.

6. Gurmukh Singh Musafir, President, Punjab PCC.

Singh, to give him your confidence and try to get his. The fact that he might do something which you considered wrong, was not enough for you to consider that the fault lay with him. It is the leader who must win the confidence of others, especially his closest colleagues and, if anything goes wrong, the ultimate responsibility is that of the leader. Also, the leader can never become merely the leader of a group which is opposed by another group. I know that this sometimes happens, but that is our weakness and misfortune. It is never right.

8. What has worried me during all these days is not the *morcha* or the ban or the requisition, but the fact that there was a marked rift between you and Partap Singh. That I consider fatal for the Punjab. We told you so in the Parliamentary Board meeting,<sup>7</sup> and you and Partap Singh and Musafir agreed to pull together. Later, you issued a joint statement<sup>8</sup> which was good. And, yet, even after that, you have clearly expressed your doubts about it. That I think is wrong and if you cannot succeed in getting the cooperation of Partap Singh, then it is you who have principally failed.

9. It seems to me that this present trouble started some months ago when Jagat Narain and Partap Singh fell out. I do not propose to go into this matter, but I should like to mention two aspects of it. One is that both as an individual and a congressman and as well as in the larger context of conditions in the Punjab, Partap Singh is of far greater importance than others. Secondly, the charges levelled against Jagat Narain, though he was more or less cleared of them, have not done much credit to him.<sup>9</sup> The fact that he has not proceeded in the law courts against his traducers also is not creditable. What he will do in the future, I do not know, but this matter will hang on till it is completely cleared up. Jagat Narain has said or has led it to be inferred that Partap Singh is communal. That might be his view. I disagree with it completely. But, in any event, to express such an opinion even indirectly was very improper.

10. We have arrived at a stage in the Punjab when we have to tackle its problems with the greatest care. We have a hard time ahead, and the problems are not easy. But I am not afraid of these problems provided we act rightly and hold together. Therefore, it is for you as leader to win the confidence of even those who may have been opposed to you. You should function in such a way

7. In a meeting of the Central Congress Parliamentary Board on 23 July 1955, Sachar was advised to explain to his Cabinet colleagues why it had not been possible for him to consult them beforehand and the desirability of consulting the Cabinet in such matters.
8. In a statement issued on 25 July, Musafir, Kairon and Sachar pledged to work together as a united team in the interests of the Congress organisation and the people of the Punjab. They appealed to the members of the PCC and the Congress Legislature Party to forget the past.
9. The alleged charges of corruption against Jagat Narain, levelled by the opposition in March 1955, were inquired into by Sachar and Narain was exonerated.



as to prove that you do not consider yourself as a leader of a group or opposed to any group or individual in the Party. In particular, I repeat, it is of the highest importance that you should cooperate fully and win the confidence of Partap Singh.<sup>10</sup>

11. Even in other matters, I have noticed sometimes that the normal process of consultation was lacking. You, as Chief Minister, are responsible of course, but it is always desirable to keep in close touch with the Governor and discuss matters with him and find out his reactions. A Governor can be very helpful in many ways not only in regard to advice but in dealing with people.

12. The situation in the Punjab is such that, while it is relatively calm at present, it is full of potential difficulty and conflict.<sup>11</sup> We shall have to watch it carefully, and you may rest assured that you will have every help in it from us there.

13. I have written to you quite frankly because I wish you to understand my mind. I believe in this I represent my colleagues in the Congress Parliamentary Board also. I am not discussing here about the future steps that we may have to take. That is a matter we shall have to consider.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. On the same day, Nehru wrote to Kairon also asking him to cooperate with Sachar.

11. See *ante*, 168-171.

## 2. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 August 1955

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

Some days ago Jainarain Vyas<sup>2</sup> came to see me. He gave me his version of much that had happened in Rajasthan<sup>3</sup> of which he disapproved. I suppose you know all about that. So I need not repeat it.

1. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Congress leader and former Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

3. During his visit to Jaipur in June 1955, Dhebar held talks with the two groups in Rajasthan Congress led by Mohanlal Sukhadia and Jainarain Vyas. These talks resulted in Hiralal Shastri's entry into the Congress and setting up of a seven-member committee to look into administrative and organizational matters in the State. Kumbharam Arya, the Jat leader, was also charged with spreading casteism in Rajasthan.

One matter, however, appears to me rather deserving of attention. A new weekly has been issued from Calcutta called *Visala Rajasthan*. The very first number contained an attack on Jainarain Vyas. According to Jainarain, this is sponsored or helped by the Rajasthan Government. Whether this is so or not, I do not know. But there is a full page advertisement in it by the Rajasthan Government.

Jainarainji also pointed out expensive advertisements in local papers about approved textbooks. This was a way just to help some newspapers.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To B.S. Hiray<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25 August 1955

My dear Hiray,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 23rd August.

Thank you for sending me a report of the President of the District Congress Committee, Ratnagiri. This is a very helpful document and shows the background of what was happening in Belgaum<sup>3</sup> and Savantvadi.<sup>4</sup> As this report makes it clear, the main object of many of the leaders of the so-called satyagraha movement was to condemn the Congress and the Government, both Central and Bombay. There was little of real satyagraha about it.

You refer to what I am reported to have said at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting.<sup>5</sup> The report, of course, is not accurate or authorised. The meeting was a private meeting. I referred at that meeting to what had occurred in Calcutta, Bombay and to some extent in Delhi. Also the students' agitation in Patna. I had pointed out that anti-social elements, encouraged by some of the

1. JN Collection.

2. Minister, Bombay Government.

3. Arrangements made by the All-Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee in Belgaum to transport 3000 *satyagrahis* to Goa on 15 August were completely upset when the Regional Transport Authority, Pune refused to permit transport of *satyagrahis* by buses on 12 August.

4. B.K. Thorat of Madhya Pradesh and Nityanand Saha of West Bengal were killed on 3 August 1955 near Savantvadi when Portuguese police opened fire on a batch of volunteers trying to cross into Goa.

5. On 16 August 1955.



political parties, took advantage of situations. This was more with a view to future elections and possibly the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission. I asked Congressmen to beware of these tactics of opposition parties. I was not thinking of any particular place, but of all these places.

So far as the States Reorganisation Commission is concerned, you might be surprised to learn that I have yet no information whatever as to what their decisions are, and I have not asked them, of course. I am told that plenty of people in Parliament talk about these matters. What their basis of information is I do not know.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru







## 1. To Mohammad Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

2 June 1955

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup>

You will remember the talks<sup>3</sup> we had when you were here about the unfortunate Nekowal incident on the Jammu border.<sup>4</sup> You were good enough to express your regret and to say that when the enquiry was finished, those who were judged guilty will be punished. The UN Observers' enquiry clearly laid the guilt on the side of people from Pakistan.<sup>5</sup> I trust that your Government will now take adequate action, as promised.

2. In view of this incident, it has become incumbent on us to take adequate measures to give protection to Nekowal village and surrounding fields. We directed our Army, therefore, that they should send patrols or post a picket as may be considered necessary. We sent this information also through our General Thapar<sup>6</sup> to General Sheikh<sup>7</sup> of the Pakistan Army. General Sheikh took up the extraordinary attitude that Pakistan did not recognise Indian authority in the Jammu and Kashmir State and that the whole territory of the State and its boundary with West Pakistan was disputed. He refused to acknowledge the right of the Indian Army patrols going to Nekowal village.

3. Such an attitude is surprising and so contrary to all that has happened even during the last seven abnormal years that I could hardly believe that it could be advanced by any responsible person. Even for the ceasefire line, this would have been an improper attitude. But for General Sheikh to object about a part of the old border which has nothing to do with the ceasefire line appears to me to be most irresponsible. I cannot conceive that the Pakistan Government are of this opinion. Instead of punishing the guilty persons in the Nekowal incident, we are now told that even acknowledged rights we possess on the border are to be resisted.

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 11(29)-Pak-III/55, Vol. I., MEA.
2. Prime Minister of Pakistan.
3. On 14 May 1955. For minutes of the talks, see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 28, pp. 246-247.
4. Twelve Indians, including Major S.R. Badhwar of the Indian Army, were killed on 7 May 1955 at Nekowal village near Ranbirsinghpura in Jammu province in eight-hour firing, when Pakistan Border Police ambushed a party of the Central Tractor Organisation which, under a small military escort, was ploughing the land of the Anandpur Mechanized Farm run by the Government of India.
5. According to UN Observers' report, sent to the Governments of India and Pakistan on 17 May 1955, the Nekowal incident was preplanned and the Pakistanis violated the border.
6. General P.N. Thapar, Corps Commander.
7. General K.M. Sheikh.



4. It is clear that our Government cannot possibly accept this contention of General Sheikh and we shall have to exercise our right to patrol or post a picket on that or any border on the ceasefire line. This is in accordance with the United Nations Observers' report also.

5. I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to remove this misapprehension from General Sheikh's mind and issue orders that there should be no interference with the exercise of our rights on our side of the border and more particularly in Nekowal village.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Vishnu Sahay<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
5 June 1955

My dear Vishnu Sahay,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose copy of a telegram from Shaikh Abdullah.<sup>3</sup> You will please enquire into and deal with this matter.

Tariq, Shaikh Abdullah's son, saw me for a few minutes this evening. He mentioned that he had not seen his father for the last year and a half although he was given permission to see him. The reason he gave was that the families of others interned have not been allowed to visit the internees throughout this period of a year and a half or more and he thought he should put himself in the same position.

Could you please find out if it is true that interviews are not allowed to the others? I think such interviews should be allowed.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs (Kashmir Section).

3. Regarding arrests of some prominent citizens for rumour mongering and their removal to Jammu in hot weather, Abdullah had requested Nehru to intervene and have them, at least, repatriated to their home province.

4. The Chief Secretary of Jammu and Kashmir, Ghulam Ahmed submitted to Vishnu Sahay on 30 June 1955 statements for the period from September 1954 to May 1955 showing that in many cases, the families of the detenus were permitted sometimes to stay also with them for weeks on end and allowed interviews even twice a week outside the rules. Tariq himself was issued permits on 3 May 1955 to be with Shaikh Abdullah for two days and on 16 May 1955 for three days.

### 3. To Mohammad Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
18 July 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

Please refer to your letter<sup>2</sup> relating to the Nekowal incident. This was forwarded by your High Commissioner<sup>3</sup> in Delhi on the 29th June 1955 to our Foreign Office. I was then away in Europe. The letter reached me duly, but I was unable to send an answer because I was constantly travelling about from one country to another. I returned to Delhi on the 12th July and gave immediate consideration to your message. You will, I hope, appreciate the reasons for the delay in my not sending an answer to your letter earlier.

I have read your letter with some surprise and great regret. You will remember that when you came to Delhi, together with General Iskander Mirza,<sup>4</sup> reference was made to the Nekowal incident on several occasions. You were good enough to inform our President on the 14th May 1955 of your profound regret at this incident and to assure him that if, on the receipt of the UN Observers' report, it was found that any one in Pakistan was guilty, the severest possible action would be taken against such person. A press note issued by the High Commission of Pakistan in India referred to what you had said to our President.

Subsequently, when we met you and General Iskander Mirza, both of you again referred to this incident and assured us that on receipt of the UN Observers' report, necessary action would be taken. Thus the matter rested on the report of the UN Observers. This report was received by us while you and General Iskander Mirza were still in Delhi and a copy of it was placed by our Home Minister before General Iskander Mirza. I presume that the UN Observers themselves must have sent a copy of their report to your Government.

I need not refer to this report in any detail here because you must have a copy of it. But briefly, the report declared that the incident was a border violation committed by the Pakistan border police. Also that the "The state of the killing

1. JN Collection.

2. Referring to the agreements between Area Commanders in December 1950, June 1951 and April 1954. Mohammad Ali had written that if Indian military patrol had not entered Nekowal village or civil authorities in charge of the tractor unit given prior intimation to Pakistan military or civil authorities, the unfortunate Nekowal incident would not have happened. He urged Nehru to restore status quo ante as this "unilateral repudiation of these agreements...led to exodus of Nekowal villagers into adjoining Pakistan villages" producing an unpleasant impression on public opinion.

3. Ghazanfar Ali Khan.

4. Minister of the Interior, States and Frontier Regions. Government of Pakistan.



area, as subsequently observed, in which the Indians were caught; its tactical disadvantage to them; and the damage to the tractors, indicates preconceived design in which preparation by the Pakistan border police was an essential preliminary to a plan". This was a clear enough verdict on this issue. Further it was stated that nine of the Indians dead and wounded were near the scene of the tractors and were killed by an overwhelming superiority of small arms fire. It is hardly necessary to point out that people engaged in the peaceful occupation of ploughing with a tractor can hardly be said to be aggressive. Apart from the evidence in the case, the UN Observers recorded that they themselves saw the Pakistan Border Police on the Indian side of the border, both in the garden copse and Nekowal village.

After this clear report and its conclusion, there was no room left for argument and the only question that arose was what steps the Pakistan Government would take, in accordance with normal international procedure and the assurance they had given to our President. The steps would naturally be to punish those who were guilty and to compensate those who had suffered.

I am, therefore, greatly surprised to read your letter which completely ignores these findings of the UN Observers as well as your assurances to us. You have referred to certain agreements between Area Commanders of Pakistan and India arrived at in December 1950, June 1951 and April 1954. These agreements, in the context of this incident and the UN Observers' report, have no relevance at all. But apart from this obvious fact, it is completely wrong to say that any one on the Indian side has contravened these agreements. I am afraid that you have been completely misinformed about these agreements, both in regard to their terms as well as their background.

As you must be aware, they were not formal agreements between the two countries, but were working arrangements between the military authorities of Pakistan and India and were calculated to help the civil administrations. This was specifically stated in the minutes prepared by the UN authorities of the meeting of the 26th December 1950.

The background of these agreements was as follows: In March 1950 our Army authorities had received a report that armed Pakistan irregulars had infiltrated into Nekowal and that there was a concentration of Pakistan forces just across the border. This report was communicated to the Chief Military Observer and several meetings were held by the UN authorities with Army Commanders of both sides. In accordance with the understanding then arrived at, our Army Commander sent a message to the Pakistan Army Commander in December 1950 informing him of the intention of the Jammu and Kashmir Government to exercise effective control over Nekowal. The Pakistan Commander replied to this message stating that the Jammu and Kashmir Government had every right to enforce direct control as proposed, but expressed

anxiety regarding its repercussions. The meeting of the 26th December 1950 took place in this context. At this meeting it was agreed that the Jammu and Kashmir authorities would visit the village of Nekowal for collecting their dues and exercising their administrative control after informing the UN and Pakistan authorities. It was also agreed that the Indian Army would not establish any military forces at Nekowal.

This agreement was reviewed in another meeting on the 26th June 1951 when it was agreed that no troops would enter the village of Nekowal plus the tilled area belonging to the village. The last review of these arrangements took place on the 30th April 1954 when the agreement was further revised. This was the agreement which was operative on the 7th May 1955 when the Pakistani forces attacked the Indian party. I give below a relevant extract of the minutes of this meeting in full so as not to leave any doubt about the terms of the agreement:

- (1) "The Indian Army would patrol this area right up to the border, to points within approximately 300 yards of Nekowal. The patrols would not enter Nekowal village.
- (2) The Pak Area Commander undertook to instruct the Pak Border Police not to interfere with the patrols in any way.
- (3) The Pak Area Commander undertook to investigate the local position further and to tell the Nekowalis that it was in their interests, as regards water supply from canals and general civil services, to foster good relations with the Jammu and Kashmir State."

The UN Observers were associated with all the three agreements. They gave the following interpretation regarding the village of Nekowal in this context:

"Inform Commander with my compliments and regards that my interpretation of meaning of Nekowal on this context is village itself, that is to say, the built up area. My decision based on understanding of Observer present at meeting on 30th April 1954 and common military parlance and customs when briefing patrols using one inch ordnance maps. Have never regarded it in any other way."

This agreement, as finally revised on the 30th April 1954, has been scrupulously observed by our authorities. Our Army patrols did not enter the village of Nekowal; they had not even gone up to 300 yards of the village which they were entitled to do. Even on the day of the Pakistani attack, they were 500 yards away from the village. Therefore, quite apart from the



irrelevance of this agreement in connection with this incident, as a matter of fact there was no breach of it by the Indian side as alleged. Your information to this effect is thus not correct.

I should like to point out here further that the agreement of April 1954 had specifically stipulated that the Pakistan Border Police should not interfere with the Indian patrols in any way. It is clear from the report of the UN Observers that they did so interfere and thereby committed a breach of that agreement. The Indian party on the 7th May was 500 yards away from the village. Even if it is argued that it had gone within the 300 yards limit by some error of judgment, surely that did not give any right to the Pakistani Border Police to attack them and open fire on them. All through the prolonged discussions in regard to Nekowal, there never has been any question of Pakistan armed personnel using force on Indian nationals to ensure observance of a working arrangement regarding a village in Indian territory.

I am therefore totally unable to understand the argument you have advanced in your letter. After the UN Observers' report on the Nekowal incident, there was no room left for further argument. That establishes beyond any possibility of controversy that the Pakistan Border Police were guilty. Apart from and in addition to this basic fact, it is also clear that there was no breach by the Indian party of the previous working agreements. In fact, the breach was on the part of the Pakistan Border Police. Again it is clear that the Indian party was engaged peacefully in working a tractor. It is very far-fetched to imagine that this peaceful occupation was meant to be any kind of an attack.

I cannot imagine a clearer case and I earnestly hope that you will now give effect to the assurance that you were good enough to give us when you were here and punish the parties that were guilty. Further that due compensation will be given to those who have suffered on our side by this unwarranted attack.

You have referred in your letter to our decision to exercise authority over a part of our territory and send patrols to the village in the normal manner. I confess that I do not understand the logic of this argument. In the interest of peace and good relations between the two countries, which we value so much, it became essential for us to exercise this authority and thereby prevent further incidents based on any misunderstanding.

I trust you will be good enough now to take further steps in this matter as requested by us. These steps would be to punish those who were guilty and to provide compensation to the victims of this tragic occurrence or the dependents of those who had lost their lives.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. To Mohammad Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
21 July 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

On the 14th July your High Commissioner in Delhi communicated a message from you to me.<sup>2</sup> This message related to certain statements made by our Home Minister, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, in Srinagar early in July. I have seen the newspaper reports to which you have drawn my attention and have also consulted our Home Minister about them. Those reports are not textually accurate in some places, but generally speaking they represent what he said, more especially, at the press conference held in Srinagar.<sup>3</sup>

2. I do not think you will find in the Home Minister's statements any repudiation of the assurances given or commitments made on behalf of the Government of India in regard to Kashmir. What he has said is that those assurances and commitments could not be given effect to because of the attitude of the Pakistan Government during these past years. Further that during the past seven or eight years many developments have taken place and conditions have also changed considerably. Because of these developments and changed conditions, he has stated that "the tide cannot be turned". This is his estimate of the situation. He has further referred to the present constitutional relationship between India and the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

3. There is thus no question of any repudiation of an undertaking made on behalf of India, whether it was unilateral or international. As for the statement in your letter to the effect that failure to arrive at a settlement was not the fault of Pakistan and that India was responsible for it, this is a subject on which, it is obvious, we differ from you entirely. The history of these long drawn out negotiations during the past seven years is recorded in many volumes. During this period there have been numerous arguments between India and Pakistan on this subject and we have differed completely. You will not expect me to enter into this long argument here about what has happened in these past years. The fact is that the two respective viewpoints in regard to Kashmir have been

1. File No. KS-17/54-MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Referring to various statements made by G.B. Pant regarding Kashmir. Mohammad Ali had asked Nehru to clarify the position "publicly".
3. Pant had mentioned on 9 July 1955 in a press conference, to various development schemes in Kashmir, US military aid to Pakistan and decision of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly. Earlier on 5 July, addressing a rally of the National Conference workers at Mujahid Manjil, the National Conference headquarters, he had said that Pakistan had thwarted all attempts made by India to seek a solution of the Kashmir question by imposing conditions which were impossible to fulfil.



opposed to each other and it is our opinion that the attitude taken up by Pakistan in the past has come in the way of a settlement which we were so anxious to reach.

4. In addition to your letter addressed to me, our Ministry of External Affairs have received a communication from your High Commission in India dated the 15th July.<sup>4</sup> This communication repeats much that is said in your letter. It goes on to say that "At no stage in the subsequent negotiations over the Kashmir dispute, including direct negotiations between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, has a view such as that expressed by the Hon'ble Home Minister been ever put forward by the Government of India."

5. You are aware of the repeated difficulties that have arisen in the course of our negotiations. Indeed, you refer to some of them in your letter. But, quite apart from this, you will no doubt remember our last conversations on this subject in Delhi when both you and General Iskander Mirza were present.<sup>5</sup> On India's side, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant and I were present. On that occasion we spoke fully and frankly to each other. I stated clearly that while we fully adhered to our assurances and commitments, it was manifest that great changes had taken place in the State during this period and that they could not be ignored. Among other things, I pointed out the constitutional position as it existed insofar as we were concerned. I read out then the provision of the Constitution of India as contained in a proviso to Article 253 of the Constitution. This ran as follows:

"Provided that after the commencement of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, no decision affecting the disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be made by the Government of India without the consent of the Government of that State."

We are naturally bound by this provision of our own Constitution. This does not amount to a repudiation of any of the assurances given by us in the past, but it is an important element in the consideration of the problem today.

4. The note of 15 July drew attention to the statements made by Pant with regard to the question of accession of Jammu and Kashmir and requested the Government of India to "publicly disavow the statements and reaffirm categorically and unequivocally that they will honour all their international commitments in terms of the UNCIP Resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949."

5. On 15 May 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, p. 253.

As I stated in the course of our talks then, the Jammu and Kashmir State was an autonomous State in the Union of India. Nearly all of our States are autonomous and have large powers with which the Central Government cannot interfere. The Jammu and Kashmir State, however, has been given a rather special position with even larger powers.

6. Apart from this constitutional position, I pointed out to you and General Iskander Mirza that any attempt to solve this problem had to take into consideration all the developments that had taken place during the past seven or eight years. We were dealing with a human problem and we could take no step which might result, instead of a settlement, in upsets and upheavals which should be harmful not only to the people of the State but to Pakistan and India. I need not repeat all that was said on that occasion between us as you will no doubt have it in mind.

7. Because of this situation that we have to face, there were two courses open to us. One was that we should pursue the old line of discussion again which had thus far led to no satisfactory result, and indeed pursue it when further difficulties and complications had arisen. Obviously, this was not a hopeful prospect.

8. The other course was to try to discover some other line of approach which might yield better results. It was because of this that we did discuss other lines of approach. You told us then that you were not in a position to commit yourself at that stage to the suggestions I had put forward. I was not prepared to accept some of the suggestions that you had put forward. But the point I should like to make is that both you and I put forward suggestions and proposals which were not in line with our previous approach to this question.

9. Because we could not agree at that time, we decided to consider this matter further and consult our respective Governments before we met again.

10. That was the position when we parted in Delhi and that is the position today. Nothing that our Home Minister has said has affected that position. I would repeat that there is no question of our repudiating any commitment made by us. But if we want a peaceful settlement of this problem, a settlement which is in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir, and a settlement which does not create upsets, then we have to take a realistic view of what has happened during these years and what the position is today. Otherwise it would be no settlement at all. As a matter of fact, ever since we met in Delhi, other developments have taken place at the instance of Pakistan which add to our difficulties.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## 5. To Sushila Nayar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
27 July 1955

My dear Sushila,<sup>2</sup>

When you saw me last, you told me that you had written to me.<sup>3</sup> I had not then seen your letter. I saw it soon after, but as it was a long letter with a report attached, I had to put it by under stress of work. I have had to deal with accumulated correspondence. I am sorry for the delay.

2. I have passed on your report to External Affairs Ministry.<sup>4</sup>

3. In your letter you mention your talk with Chester Bowles. I do not think he is quite correct or just in his criticism, though I can quite appreciate his feeling strongly.<sup>5</sup> He mentioned this Adlai Stevenson incident<sup>6</sup> to me when he came here last and I expressed my regret to him for these wrong allegations about Adlai Stevenson. As a matter of fact, I think I said something about it in public also dissociating myself with the allegations made by some people in Kashmir. Also in reply to one or two questions in Parliament, I said something to the same effect. In Parliament Adlai Stevenson's name was not mentioned, though some reference was made to what had been said in Kashmir.<sup>7</sup>

4. You say in your letter that Stevenson wanted me to make a public contradiction.<sup>8</sup> To some extent, I did so, but my difficulty was that I could not contradict directly what was said by somebody in Kashmir. All I could say

1. JN Collection.

2. Speaker, Delhi State Legislative Assembly at this time.

3. After returning from a tour of the USA, London, Geneva and Cairo, Sushila Nayar had written on 12 July 1955 about her talks with Chester Bowles, Horace Alexander and Edwina Mountbatten.

4. She had enclosed her report on the last session of the Social Commission of the United Nations.

5. Bowles, the former US Ambassador to India, had told Nayar that it was very unfair to implicate Adlai Stevenson, who might well become the President of the US for interference in Kashmir affairs without adequate proof.

6. Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential candidate in 1952 and 1956 elections, had visited Kashmir and conferred with Shaikh Abdullah from 1 to 3 May 1953. He was rumoured to have encouraged Abdullah for an independent Kashmir. In a Working Committee meeting of the National Conference on 18 May 1953, Abdullah brought up the question of an independent Kashmir Valley.

7. In Lok Sabha on 17 September 1953. For Nehru's speech, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 404-405.

8. Stevenson had told Bowles that a private message through Vijayalakshmi Pandit was not of much use and Nehru should send it to the press. He was upset that his contradiction was published in the newspapers on an inside page in an inconspicuous manner after a month.

was that I did not believe it and that there must have been some misunderstanding.

5. I have no recollection of any Government of India Information Service giving such information to journalists.<sup>9</sup> What is possible is that in the normal course some speech in Kashmir may have been reported here. It would have been better if it had not been reported. But it is difficult to expect this judgement from junior officers. I remember that when I saw these allegations, I told our people definitely that this cannot possibly be true and they must not give publicity to it.

6. The time when all this was said in Kashmir was peculiar. All kinds of charges and countercharges were being levelled. Pakistan press was full of abuse of India and we had our hands full of many other things. The result was that what we might have done perhaps more forcibly escaped our notice at the time. I am really sorry that Chester Bowles or Adlai Stevenson should feel that the Government of India or any of us had been unfair in this matter. Certainly, so far as I am concerned and my colleagues here, we thought that the allegation was so ridiculous that we attached no importance to it. I remember writing rather strongly about it to the Kashmir people.

7. I cannot of course answer for the delay in some of our newspapers publishing Stevenson's contradiction.

8. As for what Chester Bowles said about Krishna Menon's remarks,<sup>10</sup> it is difficult to deal with odd things cut out from their context. You must remember that the American press very often misreports. It is difficult to keep up with this misreporting. I know of several very definite instances. On one or two occasions even *The New York Times* had to express regret.

9. I shall not deal with the various statements referred to. But I think it is quite wrong to say that Krishna Menon is out to run down Americans. As a matter of fact, he has done his hardest, and with some success, to put the American side of the case to Chou En-lai. Even the London *Times* has acknowledged this and appreciated it.

10. For anyone to say that East and West Germany should sit together does not seem to me to be objectionable. It is wholly immaterial what we think of East or West Germany or their Governments. The only alternative to sitting together is to fight each other.

11. As for Korea, it is true, I think, that North Korea was an aggressor to

9. Bowles also said that he had been told by some Indian journalists that the Information Services of India had passed on the information to them.

10. He expressed resentment about Krishna Menon's remark at the UN that East and West Germany both had their own Governments and they should sit together and resolve their differences.



begin with.<sup>11</sup> But after that, it is very arguable who was at fault and it is exceedingly difficult for me to have any sympathy for a person like Dr Syngman Rhee<sup>12</sup> who is constantly asking for war. He did that before the Korean war and he has done that ever since the armistice.

12. Anyone who knows the facts knows that Krishna Menon did a very fine piece of work at the Geneva Conference last year and that he has continued this subsequently.

13. You may, if you like, write to Chester Bowles and give him the substance of what I have said above.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. Bowles also criticised Menon's remark that "there was no proof that North Korea had invaded South Korea; in fact, South Korea had been the aggressor." He said, "How could India's representative say such a thing when India had voted in the General Assembly in favour of the United Nations resisting the aggression in Korea?"

12. President of Republic of Korea (South Korea).

6  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS





## I. VISIT TO EUROPE

### 1. Talks with V.M. Molotov<sup>1</sup>

On June 8 Prime Minister called on Mr Molotov<sup>2</sup> at 9 a.m. in the Foreign Office. Present at the interview were Mr Menshikov,<sup>3</sup> Mr Kuznetsov<sup>4</sup> and the Ambassador, Mr K.P.S. Menon.<sup>5</sup> Mr Molotov opened the conversation by asking how the Prime Minister had enjoyed the long journey<sup>6</sup> and asked if the Prime Minister had approved of the detailed programme which had been prepared for him. In case the Prime Minister had any suggestions to make, said Mr Molotov, they might be communicated to him.

Mr Molotov then referred to the Soviet note in which the Soviet Government had invited the West German Chancellor Adenauer to come to Moscow.<sup>7</sup> The Prime Minister enquired whether Mr Molotov intended going to San Francisco, to which Mr Molotov replied that he was going there the next morning<sup>8</sup> and regretted that he would not be able to see more of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister then referred to a message from Hammarskjöld in which the latter had invited PM to deliver the closing address on June 26. Mr Molotov expressed the view that it would be impolite on his part to suggest that the Prime Minister should cut short his stay in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, it would have been wonderful if the jubilee session was closed

1. Minutes of the meeting with V.M. Molotov, Moscow, 8 June 1955. JN Collection. The minutes were prepared by P.N. Kaul, First Secretary, Indian Embassy, Moscow.
2. Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov (1890-1986); born as V.M. Skriabin; Foreign Minister of USSR, 1939-49, and 1953-56; expelled from the CPSU presidium for Stalinist activities in 1957.
3. Mikhail Menshikov (1902-76); Soviet Ambassador to India, 1953-57, to USA, 1957-62; Minister for Foreign Affairs of RSFSR, 1962-69.
4. Vasilii Vasilevich Kuznetsov (b. 1901); Soviet diplomat; trained as an engineer; Vice-Chairman, State Planning Committee (Gosplan) 1940-43; Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and Ambassador to China, 1953-55; First Deputy Foreign Minister, Foreign Affairs and head of Soviet Delegation to UN, 1955.
5. Indian Ambassador to the USSR, 1952-61.
6. Nehru left Delhi in the morning of 4 June and via Bombay, Cairo, Rome and Prague, reached Moscow in the afternoon of 7 June 1955.
7. On 7 June, USSR invited Konrad Adenauer to visit Moscow, as a step towards normalisation of relations between Soviet Union and West Germany, especially in view of the Paris Treaty, which facilitated West Germany's entry into NATO.
8. The tenth anniversary of the UN was being celebrated in San Francisco from 20 to 26 June 1955, where the Charter was signed in 1945.



by someone of the Prime Minister's standing who was so popular, had such a name and commanded such authority. Mr Molotov added that this would have been a pleasant event and acceptable to all. Mr Molotov added that the Prime Minister would undoubtedly realise that under the circumstances it would not be easy to find a suitable person, to deliver the closing address. He concluded by saying that he would not only advise but request the Prime Minister to stay longer in USSR.

The Prime Minister then said that he had a large number of subjects which he would like to discuss with Mr Molotov; he then referred to the situation in Indo-China and said that he was worried about the situation in Vietnam. 20th July had been fixed for talks between the North and the South Vietnam for preparing for the elections.<sup>9</sup> South Vietnam was not anxious to have either the talks or the elections. The Prime Minister wondered if the talks could be initiated through the Commission even though this might take a little more time.

Mr Molotov's reaction was that this matter deserved consideration, that he was interested in having the Geneva decisions implemented and that everything should be done which would promote the holding of elections. Prime Minister further clarified the position by saying that we should begin the process of bringing the two together. Once they have met they might choose a chairman of their own and go ahead, but the Prime Minister feared that without some outside push they might not meet at all.

The Prime Minister made it clear that this was the suggestion of the Indian Chairman,<sup>10</sup> who thought that the Commission should arrange the initial meeting between North and South Vietnam. The idea was to help the two parties to meet after which they would carry on the talks themselves in any way they decided. Prime Minister said that if the two Co-Chairmen<sup>11</sup> of the Geneva Conference agreed to the above then he could proceed in the matter. Molotov replied that this was a good idea and that he would like to discuss it with his colleagues.

At this point Mr Kuznetsov said that some outside forces were also interested in hampering the elections in Vietnam and that the Prime Minister undoubtedly knew about it.

Prime Minister then changed the subject and referred to the talks which

9. According to the Geneva Agreements of 1954, both the French and Vietminh forces were to withdraw in stages within 300 days to either side of the military demarcation line dividing Vietnam, that is at about 17° North and an election was to take place by July 1956 to ascertain popular opinion regarding merger of North and South Vietnam.
10. M.J. Desai headed the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam.
11. UK and USSR.

Shri Krishna Menon recently had with Mr Chou En-lai.<sup>12</sup> PM explained that Chou En-lai was not prepared for a ceasefire partly because there was no state of war between China and USA, but that in practice China would be prepared not to take military measures, on the assumption that the coastal islands, Quemoy and Matsu will be evacuated.<sup>13</sup> This, said PM, was largely what UK had been suggesting.

Mr Molotov thanked PM for the information and said that by and large he had been informed by Chou En-lai about these talks. Mr Molotov said that the Chinese Government were taking measures to settle their relations with USA. For example, China had proposed direct talks.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, Mr Molotov hoped that USA would respond and take some positive steps such as the evacuation of the coastal islands, which would be a most natural step in improving relations.

PM said that he also hoped so and added that it was not easy for a third party like India to push itself too much. PM expressed the hope that China would release the other airmen too, because this would help in creating a favourable atmosphere in America particularly, because Americans were rather emotional in these matters.<sup>15</sup>

Mr Molotov said that he agreed with the Prime Minister and appreciated the skill of Shri Krishna Menon, whom he described as his old friend and an experienced diplomat, who was pushing this matter forward. Mr Molotov

12. V.K. Krishna Menon, India's representative in the UN, had six sessions of talks with Chou En-lai between 11 to 21 May at Beijing regarding continuing tension in the Far East over the questions of release of US prisoners in China and bombardment of offshore islands by China. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, pp. 181-183.
13. Quemoy and Matsu islands, just off the Chinese shores, were the target of intermittent bombing and air raids by the PRC forces since September 1954. Given the presence of US Seventh Fleet in the region with the declared objective of protecting Nationalist China and its controlled islands from Chinese attack, it was not possible for China to capture these islands, though their proximity to the mainland made China extremely uncomfortable from the point of view of security. A UN proposal of 1 February 1955 for ceasefire between the USA and China was rejected by the latter on 3 February contending that there was no state of war between the two.
14. On 23 April Chou En-lai had stated at Bandung that the Chinese people were friendly to the American people and that they did not want war with America. The Chinese Government was willing to discuss with the USA, the question of relaxing tensions in the Far East, especially Formosa.
15. On 30 May, the Beijing Radio announced that a Peoples' Court had found four US airmen, shot down in 1952-53, guilty of "acts of provocation" and had ordered them to be deported from China. The US State Department, on the same day, expressed the Government's "gratification" and earnestly hoped that China would now consider releasing civilians alongwith eleven other airmen whose "continued imprisonment annoyed the American people."



remarked that he knew that the American reactionaries did not very much like Shri Krishna Menon.

The Prime Minister suggested that, when in San Francisco, Mr Molotov might see Shri Krishna Menon, who would give him additional information, to which Mr Molotov replied that he would gladly do so.

The Prime Minister next touched on the question of the strong feelings of the Chinese Government in regard to the tracing of the culprits involved in the *Kashmir Princess* disaster.<sup>16</sup> PM explained that it had been established beyond doubt that the accident was caused by sabotage and that a time bomb had been placed in Hong Kong. However, it could not be established as to who actually placed the bomb. The Hong Kong Government had been carrying on the investigation and had on the whole done well in discovering a widespread network of KMT espionage. Nevertheless, they tried to trace the culprits but did not succeed in it. Mr Chou En-lai had given the British authorities some precise information, but the British Governor thought that it was not possible for him to proceed in law against the individuals mentioned by Chou En-lai, which made the latter feel that the British Government was not fully cooperating in this matter. The British Governor intended to deport the suspects. Mr Chou En-lai did not like this at all as he wanted the suspects to be punished and not deported. The Prime Minister added that he wanted the guilty to be punished, but that it was difficult for him to say what should or should not be done in English law. Mr Molotov replied that one could understand the feelings of Chou En-lai in the matter.

The Prime Minister then referred to some of our intelligence men who had been sent to Hong Kong and who found themselves in a peculiar situation.<sup>17</sup> The Chinese told them something and asked them not to convey it to the British and the British told them something else and asked them not to convey it to the Chinese. The situation became more complicated by the refusal of the British authorities to see the Chinese representative. When Chou En-lai gave our men full information, he expected that the information would not be passed on to the KMT people. Sir Anthony Eden had given an assurance to this effect, but we later found that a Chinese police officer who had been conducting the enquiry on behalf of the Hong Kong Government had been communicating the

16. An Air India International Constellation crashed into the Indian Ocean (off Indonesian waters) on 11 April 1955 while on a chartered flight from Hong Kong to Jakarta, carrying one Vietnamese, two Polish journalists and an advance party of Chinese delegation to the Bandung Conference. On 26 May an Indonesian enquiry reported that there were "irrefutable evidence" of sabotage. The suspect, Chou Chu, had fled to Taiwan. See also *post*, pp. 351-352.
17. The Government of India had sent R.N. Kao, Assistant Director, Intelligence Bureau, and later, B.N. Mullik, Director, Intelligence Bureau, to Hong Kong to help in the investigation of the *Kashmir Princess* disaster. See *post*, pp. 351-352.

information to the Kuomintang authorities. As a result of this some people had run away. At our instance, this Chinese official was removed from investigation. PM remarked that he did not understand this behaviour of the Hong Kong authorities and that Shri Krishna Menon had talked about this matter in China and that PM had asked Shri Krishna Menon to speak to Eden also. PM concluded by saying that he was interested in getting the culprits punished.

Mr Molotov replied that a great deal depended on the British Government. The Prime Minister remarked that the British people were reluctant to do anything which might put them in difficulty with the KMT and perhaps USA. Mr Molotov replied that it might be so.

PM then spoke to Mr Molotov about the Soviet disarmament proposals and said that the proposals seemed to him such as could lead to progressive and fruitful talks.<sup>18</sup> Mr Molotov replied that these proposals contained a lot which would bring the two parties closer, insofar as the proposals made earlier by the French and the British had been incorporated in them. Mr Molotov said that he hoped that others would respond.

PM said that Mr Molotov knew the situation in USA and expressed the view that Eisenhower was acting as a brake on Dulles. The two often did not see eye to eye. Eisenhower had recently sent a cordial message to the Prime Minister who thought that Eisenhower was anxious to find some way out in regard to China and to reduce tension.<sup>19</sup>

Mr Molotov replied that it was possible that Dulles and Eisenhower did not see eye to eye with each other even though one could not say clearly how big the differences between the two were. All the same, Molotov felt that Dulles was an extreme party.

PM remarked that Eisenhower perhaps felt that in the Far East Chiang Kai-shek was a nuisance, but that he did not know how to get rid of him. Mr Molotov nodded in approval. PM continued to say that American politics was

18. During the eight power conference at Warsaw on 11 May 1955, Nikolai Bulganin, the Soviet Premier, put forward his proposals for disarmament. These proposals, to be carried out in two stages over a period of two years, envisaged a convention by the UN Disarmament Commission for reduction of armaments, prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction. The signatory States of this convention were not to increase their armaments, armed forces and military appropriations beyond the level of 31 December 1954. Simultaneously, States were to end tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons and assume a solemn obligation not to use them. Exception was allowed for defence against aggression, with the consent of the Security Council.

19. In response to Nehru's letter to Eisenhower of 27 May 1955, suggesting specific steps for the US to take which would defuse the tension in Far East, Eisenhower replied on the same day expressing his gratitude for Nehru's efforts and agreed to invite Krishna Menon to visit the White House for private and informal talks.



very peculiar and that it was governed by elections. All the same PM felt that lately there was some hope that the moderate people in America will have more to say in future.

Mr Molotov said that in his talks with Dulles in Berlin and Geneva<sup>20</sup> he had tried to convince him that the American policy in relation to China was not good for America itself. Mr Molotov said that Dulles listened attentively to what Mr Molotov had to say, but one could not be sure that Dulles agreed with what he heard. Mr Molotov commented that Dulles was a very stubborn man of somewhat extreme opinions. PM suggested to Mr Molotov that it was no use merely criticising each other and that there must be flexibility in approach. Mr Molotov replied that he fully agreed that there must be flexibility in these matters and that the Soviet Government were very carefully following the various steps and measures which were being taken by India and other countries in international affairs.

At this the conversation ended with the mutually expressed hope of seeing each other again.

20. The Berlin Conference was held in January 1954 and the Geneva Conference, in July 1954.

## 2. Talks with N.A. Bulganin<sup>1</sup>

On 8th June 1955, PM called on Bulganin<sup>2</sup> in the Kremlin. Present at the interview were Molotov, Menshikov and the Ambassador Menon. Bulganin opened the conversation by enquiring as to how PM had settled down in his residence and made enquiries regarding the weather etc.

Bulganin asked Molotov about the conversation which he had just had with PM. Molotov said that he had talked about a number of matters with PM.

Bulganin then referred to the latest press conference by Dulles regarding

1. Minutes of the meeting with N.A. Bulganin, Moscow, 8 June 1955. JN Collection. The minutes were prepared by P.N. Kaul.
2. Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin (1895-1975); joined Soviet Secret Police, Cheka, in 1918; helped organise Moscow's defence in World War II; Marshal of USSR in 1947; Minister of Defence, 1947-49 and 1953-55; Premier, 1955-58.

the forthcoming Conference of the Big Four.<sup>3</sup> Bulganin read out a Tass report, according to which Dulles had talked about the agenda, for the forthcoming Conference which included problems relating to the countries of Eastern Europe and international communism.<sup>4</sup> Dulles had not referred to the Far Eastern problems or the Formosa question. Bulganin enquired how Molotov liked the agenda. Molotov replied that it was not a good agenda and that Dulles was doing whatever possible to hamper the Conference.

Bulganin went on to say that an announcement of the nature which Dulles had made would not help the Conference. Bulganin also referred to Eisenhower's press conference in which the latter had said that in the military sense USA was trying to defend its rights and although power gave them confidence, they would not act unwisely.<sup>5</sup> Bulganin commented sarcastically that these were good pre-requisites for the Conference and asked PM what he thought about the agenda. PM said that China, India and other South East Asian countries, which would represent a thousand million people, would not be represented at the Conference. Bulganin said that the Soviet Government had for a long time been trying to prove that it stood for good neighbourly, if not for friendly relations and it was trying to implement this policy, not in words, but in deeds. The Soviet Government, for instance, had concluded the Austrian treaty;<sup>6</sup> put an end to the quarrel with Yugoslavia;<sup>7</sup> and very recently sent a note to Western

3. At Geneva.

4. On 7 June 1955, Dulles stated in a press conference that there was a possibility of raising the question of East European 'satellites' at the Four Power conference. At the same time he said that the new Soviet attitude towards Yugoslavia and the conclusion of the Austrian Treaty encouraged him to hope that the USSR might "loosen the rein a little bit" on the East European countries.

5. In a press conference of 31 March, Eisenhower put to rest speculations in American press regarding the US being pushed into a nuclear standoff with USSR and stated that the US was only defending its democratic rights, though it would not do anything to destroy the morale of the Chinese Nationalist Government.

6. On 15 May Foreign Ministers of Four Allied Powers signed a treaty in Vienna, ending ten years of Allied occupation of Austria and prior to that, seven years of German occupation. The reasons for delay in the early conclusion of this treaty were: Soviet insistence on a clause in the preamble attributing some amount of war-guilt to Austria, which Molotov finally agreed to omit; disagreement on distribution of German assets in various occupied zones of Austria; size of Austrian armed forces; and prohibition on manufacture of certain weapons by Austria.

7. On 26 May a high-level Soviet delegation led by Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary, Central Committee, CPSU, and N.A. Bulganin, visited Belgrade on an eight-day tour. In a surprisingly frank statement, Khrushchev said that the "exposed enemies of the people" like L. Beria and Viktor Abakumov, were responsible for "deliberately provoking bitterness in relations of Yugoslavia and USSR", which he was determined to "sweep away".



Germany.<sup>8</sup> Bulganin said that there was nothing which the Soviet Government could do with those who talked to the Soviet people from a position of strength. At this stage Bulganin pointed out that his remarks should be treated as confidential and they were not meant for publication.

PM said that he agreed with Bulganin and could not understand why a strong man should always go about showing his muscles. PM continued to say that it was difficult to understand many of the American policies because there was no consistent policy at all. In America so much depended on lobbies and elections. It was amazing how Americans got excited about things and later on forgot all about it. PM said that he thought that these statements of Dulles and Eisenhower were more due to a certain fear that others might be too clever for them. Americans were not sure of themselves. Latterly, said PM, there seemed to be a change in USA and the Knowlands, the McCarthys, etc. seemed to have somewhat subsided. Dulles undoubtedly continued to play his part but most of these statements were meant for internal purposes rather than for anything else. PM expressed his confidence that the right step taken by any Government would show right results and welcomed Soviet policy in Austria, Yugoslavia, on the disarmament question and on West Germany.<sup>9</sup> PM said that he was sure that all this would have powerful effect on world opinion, including American, even though Dulles might say that it was all a trap. It was indeed surprising that in Dulles's agenda there was no mention of Far East. Bulganin said that Dulles was very inflexible and PM added that he was a Methodist pastor and combined rigidity with self-righteousness.

Bulganin then went on to say that he was very happy that there were such good relations between India and USSR. Bulganin said that he and the Soviet Government had the best feelings and respect for PM and that this was a good thing for peace in the world. He emphasised that good relations existed between Soviet Union, India and China. Bulganin said that everybody should deepen and develop the existing friendly relations and said that he would like to make use of PM's visit for that purpose.

PM said that he was very well aware of the goodwill of the Soviet Government and of Bulganin personally and that PM himself was interested in

8. On 7 June 1955. See *ante*. p. 201.

9. The Soviet proposals regarding Germany were put forward during the Berlin Conference, where the foreign ministers of the Four Allied powers met in January-February 1954. Molotov proposed that Germany be evacuated of all occupying forces; military bases be razed, and the country be neutralised. The other three insisted on German unity by free elections first and then leaving it to the democratically elected government to choose a course of action.

promoting goodwill. India wanted it, and the larger interests of the world demanded it too.

PM then expressed gratitude to Bulganin for the work done by the Soviet scientists in India for the formulation of the Second Five Year Plan and also for the Indian Statistical Institute.<sup>10</sup> PM also said that he was glad to have the help of the Russian technicians for putting up the steel plant. Bulganin said that he would do everything possible to help India in this matter and added that he would help not only in this matter but in all other matters as well.<sup>11</sup>

PM said that he hoped to send a team of experts on steel plants from India to see things on the spot, to which Bulganin replied that he would be very glad to receive them.

PM said that in India the people were conditioned by their previous experiences in history and the Government had to carry the people with it. PM pointed out that India was still an agricultural country and would remain so even though she would develop heavy industry as fast as possible. PM added that he would like to benefit from the experiences of the Soviet Union in the management of big enterprises and said that in India the community projects had covered about one hundred thousand villages out of a total of 450,000 villages.

Bulganin said that he was deeply impressed by what he saw in China and that if the work went on in India at the speed mentioned by PM, then India could expect great results.

PM said that India had succeeded more than she had expected in increasing the food production. Now that the agriculture was on a more stable basis India was in a position to devote more time and resources to heavy industry.

PM then told Bulganin that he was deeply interested in reducing international tension, especially in the Far East and said that fortunately India had no problems with China. Instead, India had a great deal of interest and desire to cooperate with China.

Bulganin commented that he was very glad to know that. China, said Bulganin, was a good friend and USSR was giving the Chinese a great deal of help.<sup>12</sup>

10. Among the noted Soviet scientists associated with ISI, Calcutta, who also helped in the formulation of the Second Plan were, A.N. Kolmogorov, N.N. Bogoliubov and Y. Linnik.

11. On 2 February 1955, USSR had agreed to help in setting up a steel plant at Bhilai and accordingly lent technology, equipment and experts, alongwith Rs 647.40 crores for the project.

12. USSR signed an economic assistance agreement with China in October 1954.



PM said that China had invited USA for direct talks but he was not certain if USA would agree.

Bulganin said that the Soviet draft declaration on disarmament had taken into consideration the question of reducing tension and increasing mutual confidence. PM thought that the measures taken by USSR had helped in reducing tension.

PM then referred to the Five Principles and said that they were designed to reduce international tension and that they were applicable to every country. "What about the Soviet Union?" enquired Bulganin. "Certainly," replied PM, and added that at Bandung no one objected to the Five Principles but some people wanted to add to them and so in the end there were ten principles, including the original five.<sup>13</sup>

Bulganin said that he liked both the five and the ten principles, so long as the basic principles were there. Bulganin went on to say that he would see PM again along with his other colleagues and then they would be able to talk more thoroughly.

Bulganin remarked that USSR had had no contact with Yugoslavia for seven years but recently when Bulganin left Belgrade, after his recent visit, they parted as friends. Bulganin said that they should enlarge this fold of friends. Molotov said that personal contacts had enormous significance for improving relations with which PM entirely agreed.

Bulganin then enquired if the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Molotov, had any questions to ask. Molotov replied that he was prepared to go into any matter which would interest PM, whether it be internal, economic or international.

Bulganin said that the proposals recently made by Soviet Union on the disarmament question contained certain radical changes, such as the reduction of conventional weapons and the establishment of control.<sup>14</sup> The Soviet Government, he said, was prepared to allow the inspectors at the airports, rail centres, ports, etc., and said that with the inspectors located at the key places, no war could start suddenly. Bulganin said that he considered this matter to be most important.

13. During the discussions in the Political Committee at Bandung, a cleavage was apparent between the nations supporting the western bloc and those supporting the communist bloc. Pakistan, Turkey and Iraq, leading the former group, insisted on inclusion of five more principles as a supplement to *Panch Shila*. The most controversial of these was the "right of any nation to defend itself singly or collectively under the UN Charter."
14. The new Soviet proposals on disarmament (see *ante*, p. 205.) envisaged inspection by inspectors of the UN Disarmament Commission of atomic resources sites and the right to seek information regarding nuclear stockpiles from signatory states.

PM said that the Soviet proposals were far-reaching in effect and expressed the hope that they would lead to an agreement even though this might take some time. PM added humorously that he was not an expert on disarmament, as there was not much to disarm in India.

Bulganin then referred to PM's book, *The Discovery of India*,<sup>15</sup> and said that he was reading the book with great interest.

While parting, Bulganin said that he was looking forward to seeing PM again.

15. Prior to Nehru's visit, several thousand copies of a limited Russian edition of *The Discovery of India* were quickly sold out.

### 3. Talks with K.Y. Voroshilov<sup>1</sup>

On 9th June PM called on Voroshilov<sup>2</sup> at 9 a.m. in the Kremlin. Present at the interview were Kuznetsov, Menshikov, Gorkin,<sup>3</sup> SG<sup>4</sup> and Ambassador Menon.

Voroshilov opened the conversation by enquiring whether PM had slept well to which Kuznetsov replied that PM walked so fast that everybody had to run behind him. Voroshilov said that he was 74 and a half and could still dance 'Kozachek' dance. He then asked PM to tell him what he liked in Moscow and what he did not and asked him to be frank and speak without hesitation. PM replied that he found Moscow an impressive city with a soul and had felt a sense of dynamism, power and growth.

To Voroshilov's query whether PM did not find anything critical, PM said that there were of course small things which one could criticise but one should take the overall view of things.

1. Minutes of the meeting with K.Y. Voroshilov, Moscow, 9 June 1955 JN Collection. The minutes were prepared by P.N. Kaul.
2. Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov (1881-1969); joined the Bolsheviks in 1903; Commander of the Red Army during civil war, 1918-20; member, Central Committee, CPSU, 1921; Commissar for war, 1925-40, was removed after defeat in the Finland front; Marshal of the USSR, 1935; member, Committee for Defence, 1941-44; President of the Presidium, 1953-60.
3. Aleksander Fedorovich Gorkin (b. 1897); Soviet politician and lawyer; member, CPSU, 1916; Secretary of the Presidium of Supreme Soviet, 1938-53; Deputy Secretary, 1953-56. Secretary, 1956; member, Central Committee, CPSU, 1939-52; member, Auditing Committee, CPSU, 1952-76; Chairman, Supreme Court of USSR, 1957-62.
4. N.R. Pillai, Secretary-General, MEA.



Voroshilov then referred to the talks which he had had with the Indian Parliamentary delegation<sup>5</sup> and said that the Indian delegation had asked him to receive PM well. He said that in any case PM would have been received well as the Soviet people loved him for the work he had done.<sup>6</sup> "We love India", Voroshilov said, "and people knew you specially for all you have done during the period when the international tension was very high".

In a jocular way Voroshilov advised PM to give up smoking as he thought smoking very harmful.

PM said that he found friendliness in Moscow not only among the leaders but also among the people, some of whom were waiting till midnight on 8th June. PM went on to say that we in India always tried as much as possible not to hate other nations as that would be a wasting process. It was a difficult thing to do but in the long run it helped. In the past India's policy had been criticised in the USSR and some Indians had criticised things in the Soviet Union, but that did not change India's basic approach. PM said that whatever we might do in India, we did it with integrity. We have to learn from others, particularly from the USSR, but our action must be based on our own integrity.

PM went on to say that in the present context of things, India's problems were mostly internal in character. There were no major external problems. PM said that he had no doubt that the Soviet Union desired and worked for peace. India had no pretension of doing much in the international field but could help occasionally because her relations were friendly with other countries. India could not have done so, if she had hostile or unfriendly relations with them. PM said that the greatest difficulty was suspicion and fear of each other. PM expressed happiness at the fact that the USSR had taken many steps in the cause of peace to remove fear and suspicion in the minds of other nations. This had greatly helped the cause of peace.

Voroshilov in conclusion said that he fully agreed with the views expressed by PM and added that USSR wanted to live in peace and friendship with all countries, especially with those like India which were particularly friendly with her. Voroshilov made it clear that what each country did with its internal matters was its own lookout and that was none of the business of the Soviet Union. He also said that the USSR did not want war and would not yield to provocation.

5. A twelve-member Indian Parliamentary delegation led by S.V. Krishnamurthy Rao, Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, went to the Soviet Union on a three-week tour on 5 May 1955.

6. On 7 June 1955, the *Pravda* had commented that "with the very active participation by the USSR and the Republic of India, the flames of war in two Asian areas, Korea and Indo-China, have been put out." Before his visit, Nehru's public statements and background sketches were reported extensively in the Soviet press and an exhibition of Indian art and culture was opened in Moscow in the first week of June.

Voroshilov said that a country must be prepared to defend itself. He concluded by saying humorously that a time would come when PM would realise that 'the old man was right' to which PM replied that he would think that it was not the old man but the young man who was right.

At this the conversation ended.

#### 4. Talks with Soviet Leaders<sup>1</sup>

N.A. Bulganin: During your brief talks with Molotov and myself about the general international situation we found ourselves in general agreement with each other. We would now like to know what specific problems you have in mind.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Specifically we have in mind the question of China's representation at the Atomic Energy Conference to be held in Geneva under the chairmanship of Dr Bhabha. We feel that in the technical and scientific field this Conference would be incomplete without China, and have, therefore, made known our views to UK, Canada and others. This is not a political but a scientific matter.

Bulganin: We agree with you. Is there anything that can be done about it?

JN: No, this is merely for your information. The next problem is that of Indo-China. 20th July has been fixed for the holding of conversations between South and North Vietnam for holding elections. North Vietnam is anxious to hold the talks but South Vietnam is unwilling, and is busy with a civil war. As USA also is not anxious to have these talks, it is difficult to say what can be done. If these conversations do not take place, the Geneva Agreement will break down which is undesirable. It has been suggested by the Indian Chairman of the Commission that though the Commission cannot participate in these conversations, it could initiate them, because otherwise the parties, left to themselves, would not meet.

1. Minutes of the meeting with Soviet leaders. Moscow. 10 June 1955. JN Collection. The minutes were prepared by M.A. Hussain, Joint Secretary. MEA. Extracts.



Bulganin: We agree with you that if the Indian Chairman takes the initiative it would be for the good of all concerned.

JN: As regards Cambodia it is doubtful if their agreement with USA is in accordance with the Geneva Agreement.<sup>2</sup>

L. Kaganovich:<sup>3</sup> The US wish to make Cambodia a US colony.

A.I. Mikoyan:<sup>4</sup> The situation is confused though what you say is substantially correct.

Bulganin: We welcome your initiative in the matter.

JN: The talk which Chou En-lai and I had with the ex-King of Cambodia was satisfactory;<sup>5</sup> he seemed sincere and assured us that Cambodia did not like American aid and should aid be taken from the US, it would be without political strings.

The statement which Dulles made about the Four Power Conference was not very helpful.

Bulganin: We agree.

JN: The UN Secretary-General in a telegram yesterday suggested that the eleven

2. Under an agreement signed between Cambodia and USA at Phnom Penh on 16 May 1955, Cambodia was to receive direct military aid in terms of training personnel, equipment and conventional weapons from the USA. Upon protests by the ICSC, the Cambodian Government issued a communique on 29 May clarifying that since it was not a question of allowing American military bases in Cambodia, or entry into any mutual defence pact, the agreement did not violate the prescriptions of the Geneva Agreement. See also *post*, p. 348.
3. (1893-1975); Soviet Commissar of Railways, 1935 and 1944-47, and of Oil, 1935-41; Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers, 1945-57; expelled from the CPSU Presidium in June 1957.
4. (1895-1970); Soviet Commissar for Supplies, 1931-34; for Food and Industry, 1934-39, and for Transport, 1938-49; First Deputy Premier, 1955-64; President, 1964-65.
5. Norodom Sihanouk, who abdicated in favour of his father, Norodom Suramarit on 3 March 1955, met Nehru at New Delhi on 17 March 1955 and Chou En-lai met Sihanouk on 23 April at Bandung. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, pp. 184-187. and 192-196, for Nehru-Chou conversations in this regard at Bandung.

US airmen might be released by China so as to create a favourable atmosphere for the Four Power Conference.<sup>6</sup>

Kaganovich: The release of the four airmen created little impression, so it is not clear how this would help.

Mikoyan: The earlier release did not help Chinese representation at the Geneva Conference. And why doesn't the Secretary-General mention the Chinese students?<sup>7</sup>

JN: I would like to clarify that this is not a proposal made by him, but merely an explanation in connection with the news item that he was asking for the release of the airmen, and my view that this issue should not be raised so soon after the release of the four airmen.<sup>8</sup> The Secretary General helped to get restrictions on the return of students removed.<sup>9</sup> The release of the four airmen has had a good effect.

Bulganin: I do not know what reply you propose giving the Secretary General but our feeling is that he should approach China direct.

JN: No reply is called for and I do not propose giving any.

Bulganin: This is a matter entirely for the Chinese Government.

JN: At Bandung Chou En-lai said that they were going to release the airmen when the "Kashmir Princess" disaster took place, which had strong repercussions as a result of which they decided not to release them.

6. For the case of eleven captured American airmen, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, p. 214. These airmen were finally released on 1 August 1955.
7. In May 1955, the US Government had lifted restriction on fifty-eight Chinese students, who wished to go back home.
8. Edwin L. Heller, Harold E. Fischer, Roland W. Parks and Lyle W. Cameron, four US airmen shot down during Korean war, were released by China on 31 May 1955. During his interview with Krishna Menon on 14 June 1955, Eisenhower claimed that about 452 US army personnel were "unjustly held" by China.
9. The question of Chinese nationals in USA wishing to return to China, had been under discussion between the Consuls General of USA and China at Geneva, since October 1954. On 10 June 1955, Dulles suggested to Eisenhower that the USA should press for the return of eleven American airmen and not mix it up with the removal of restriction on return of Chinese nationals in USA, since about the former they had an agreement and on the latter there was no such obligation. Eisenhower felt that the USA "should let all the Chinese go back", since the USA itself "had not been able to live up to part of that (the agreement)".



Bulganin: Our information also is that they are willing to release them.

JN: Has any date been fixed for the Four Power Conference?

Bulganin: 18th July.

JN: I know, but has the Soviet Government agreed to attend on this date?

Bulganin: We have not made an official announcement but we have decided to agree to it. Dulles said that the Conference will last for three days and Eisenhower has improved upon it by saying that it may last for eight to ten days. This shows "disrespect" for the Conference, because no time-limit can be fixed for such an important Conference; it may last a few days or longer; the Conference should be allowed as many days as may be necessary.

JN: Dulles obstructed the Geneva Conference and sulked; he tried to put difficulties in its way, but did not succeed, and may be he does'nt succeed this time as well.

Bulganin: We hope Eisenhower and Eden will be wiser. I would like to read out to you an attack on Krishna Menon by Richardson, a Congressman.

JN: Krishna Menon had a talk with Eisenhower and suggested the removal of restrictions on the return of the student.<sup>10</sup> A few days later he was informed that government had decided to remove those restrictions and later on a public announcement was made. I may illustrate how Krishna Menon has been misrepresented. After meeting Krishna Menon, Eisenhower said that he was not as bad as he had anticipated.<sup>11</sup> We were told that Krishna Menon should see Eisenhower without Dulles being present.

Bulganin: Krishna Menon is doing good work which is bound to help. He is energetic and intelligent.

10. Menon met Eisenhower on 15 March 1955. For his conversations on this issue see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, pp. 177-178.
11. The US State Department record of Eisenhower's meeting with Menon of 15 March stated: "all Mr Menon did was discuss Indian philosophy and life, and made one or two disparaging comments (astonishingly enough) about the communists. He did refer twice to seeing the President again. Perhaps, the President said, 'fattening him up for the kill'."

JN: They are not afraid of him but his intelligence. UK and Canada are to some extent helpful. As you know Eden and Dulles were hardly on speaking terms.

Bulganin: On July 18th we are going to Geneva. We have asked for suggestions from Chou En-lai and Mao. We are now asking for your suggestions for which we would be obliged to you.

JN: The new Soviet proposals for disarmament should help. I can't see how certain countries can go back on what they proposed previously.

Bulganin: Some have already reacted favourably, especially the French, and close behind them are the British, though they have not been very active about it. The USA are trying to 'drag out' this matter. We are taking it up actively and propose raising this at the Big Four Conference probably as the first item and as a major question for the consideration of the Conference.

JN: We would undoubtedly generally give our support. In the UK, public opinion generally favours the Soviet proposals, and in the USA also there are certain sections of the public who do the same.

Bulganin: In this we have the support of China, the People's Democracies and when I along with Khrushchev and Mikoyan discussed this matter with Tito, he also agreed.

JN: At Bandung four or five countries representing the US Government's viewpoint said that atomic weapons should be banned after disarmament.<sup>12</sup> These countries were said to have been briefed by the State Department.

Bulganin: Yes, that is so.

JN: At Bandung some underlying fears were expressed. Ceylon, for example, feels that India is a big country and may absorb them. I pointed out to Chou En-lai that similarly some other countries are afraid of China. Chou En-lai

12. A resolution in this regard was put forward at the political committee on 22 April by John Kotelawala. It envisaged: a convention for controlling conventional armaments and banning possession, production and use of nuclear weapons; pending such a convention, an immediate check on arms race and an agreement to end nuclear test explosions. This resolution was supported strongly by Pakistan, Turkey and the Philippines.



took certain steps to remove these fears.<sup>13</sup> In fact it is this fear which makes certain countries cling to the US for help.

Kaganovich: Does it mean that such countries are not afraid of the US?

JN: The Ceylon Prime Minister publicly said that they must depend on UK otherwise India would swallow them. At Bandung they also said that if they did not have alliances with the Western Powers, the USSR would swallow them. This is, of course, all very unreasonable but it shows how their fears work and are exploited by other countries.

Bulganin: Yes, that is true but Bandung Conference helped to remove some of these fears. I may add that Norway, Denmark and France have similar fears, but we have told them that after the war we had ten million men under arms in Western Europe, but we did not threaten the security of any country and removed them. And we have now withdrawn our troops from Austria. What the countries you have mentioned talk about is American propaganda.

JN: We are grateful for the visit of the Soviet scientists to India, and also for the agreement for the installation of the steel plant.

Bulganin: We would like to assure you that we wish to give you all possible help. We do not have free capital which we wish to invest anywhere; nor are we in need of markets; but we do help our friends despite the fact that our own position is none too good, and we have to render a lot of aid to China, and are also helping our East European friends. If any question is raised by the Indian side for giving technical assistance to India we shall do the best we can, and assure you our full support as friends.

JN: We appreciate the help we receive, but essentially a country must rely on itself.

Bulganin: This is a correct and healthy approach. I may add that USSR has fewer friends than India.

13. Responding to such fears, Chou En-lai invited Cambodia, Laos, Burma, Thailand and the Philippines to inspect China's frontiers and satisfy themselves about the fact that "no subversion or aggression was being planned against these countries" from the Chinese soil. To Laos and Cambodia, he especially assured that China had no "expansionist policy" regarding their territory and all bilateral disputes could be resolved through peaceful means.

Kaganovich: India has great resources of manpower and is rich in minerals and has, therefore, great possibilities of development....

JN: We have already made a good geological survey. What we need is tools and drilling apparatus and assistance in prospecting.

Kaganovich: We have had a great deal of experience in geological survey and could help with men and instruments. You should instruct your officials to go into the details of this question and we would instruct our officials to give full cooperation in the matter.

JN: We will issue instructions to our officials as proposed and perhaps later a team will visit USSR and we might also send a younger Minister.

Bulganin: Young men could be sent here for training.

Kaganovich: Because of India's reputation for its riches, you may find lot of diamonds, mica and even uranium.

JN: We have world's largest deposits of monazite sands. We have plenty of coal but not of a very high grade.

Bulganin: It is clear that there is a large field for cooperation. I would again like to assure you of our assistance on a purely friendly basis.

JN: This afternoon Mr Bulganin said something about coming to India. He would be very welcome.

Bulganin: I am thankful to you for this kind invitation. We have had a useful conversation and now when you return from your tour,<sup>14</sup> we would continue our conversation. After you have seen something of our country you should tell us about our faults; a "side view" is often better. You should see how we are implementing the teachings of Lenin and Stalin who taught us the lesson of developing heavy industry. We are sometimes criticised that we do this for purpose of war, but we are in fact doing this because it is the basis of all development, agriculture, light industry, etc.

JN: I shall look forward to our resuming our conversations on my return to Moscow.

14. Nehru was to go on a ten-day tour of various places, in Ukraine, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, and was to return to Moscow on 21 June 1955.



## 5. Talks with Soviet Leaders<sup>1</sup>

N.A. Bulganin: We would like to hear what Mr Nehru has to say.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have suggested the draft of a joint communique which would be issued if Mr Bulganin and his colleagues agree.<sup>2</sup> I would like to discuss the situation in the Far East and the Four Power talks.

Bulganin: Yes, certainly.

JN: A message has been received from Eden that I should go to London to discuss the prospects of the Four Power Conference.<sup>3</sup> He has added that the prospects of peace are better now than they have been for some time.

Bulganin: As regards the joint statement I have had a talk with Khrushchev<sup>4</sup> and we agree with the statement in principle and think it is good, but details may be discussed by representatives of our Foreign Office and yours, so that we can finalize it by the time we meet tomorrow.

JN: I agree that this would be a suitable procedure and it will expedite matters.

Bulganin: For our side we nominate Gromyko<sup>5</sup> and Kuznetsov.

JN: For our side we nominate our Ambassador and our Secretary-General.

1. Minutes of meeting with Soviet leaders. Moscow, 21 June 1955. JN Collection. The minutes were prepared by M.A. Hussain.
2. A joint communique, signed on 22 June was released to the press on the next day. It praised the East-West accord on Austria, the improved Soviet-Yugoslav relations and the growing awareness of the dangers of nuclear war; called for the sincere implementation of the Geneva Accord of 1954 and entry of People's Republic of China into the UN; reiterated both nations' adherence to the Five Principles in order to "dispel fear in all possible ways" from the minds of smaller nations and finally expressed their "profound faith that states of different social structures could exist side by side in peace and work for common good."
3. Nehru received Eden's invitation on 21 June when he returned to Moscow from his tour. Eden had hinted that "more promising possibilities may be in the offing than at any time since the end of the war." Nehru was in London from 8 to 10 July 1955.
4. Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev (1894-1971); Secretary General of CPSU, 1953-64; Premier 1958-64; first to denounce Stalin in a secret speech in February 1956; ousted from power by Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin in 1964.
5. Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko (1909-1989); Soviet Ambassador to the USA, 1943-46; participated in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam Conference; Soviet representative at UN, 1946-48; first Deputy Minister, Foreign Affairs, 1949-52; Foreign Minister, 1957-85; President, 1985-88.

Bulganin: With regard to the Four Power Conference all we know is that the talks will take place on the 18th July; we do not know what will happen at the Conference but we will do our best to reduce tension. When we last discussed it we suggested that you might make suggestions to us for this Conference.

Khrushchev: We should talk very frankly about this Conference. I and my colleagues feel that the reasons for the holding of the Conference are other than those published. Mr Bulganin, our representative, has already given an indication of our attitude at the Conference, but we do not expect a positive attitude from others. The USA is not as yet prepared to reduce tension; in this, the USA made a concession to the UK to help the Conservative Party in power at the elections.<sup>6</sup> But the steps they are taking in the USA to prepare public opinion suggest that they are trying to put all the blame on us. So we have no illusions about it and are not hopeful of results; we feel that until steps are taken to organise public opinion in the USA, nothing can come out of such a Conference. We took a number of measures to reduce tension, but the US gives out that this is due to certain internal pressures which have compelled us to adopt this attitude.<sup>7</sup> This is not so.

Kaganovich: Judging from the statements of Dulles it seems that they are putting pressure on the UK.

Mikoyan: In France there is a greater desire for peace, but it has no strength to push forward its view.

JN: I agree largely with the analysis given by you. Now, accepting this appraisal the question is what should be done. France has shown greater appreciation and desire for peace; the UK has also shown that desire but both these countries are influenced by pressure from the US. How is it possible, therefore, to increase this pressure for peace? Even in the US there is a desire for peace. Our interest

6. On 6 May it was announced that the UK elections would be held on 26 May, following Churchill's resignation on 5 April on health grounds. Eden, who succeeded as Premier, was keen that the elections were held while there was high popular expectation regarding Britain taking a lead in resolution of international tension. On 10 May the USA, which had been delaying the proposal for a summit talk for two years, agreed and sent an invitation to the USSR for the same. The Conservative Party won the elections with a huge margin.
7. Dulles had on several occasions said that because of arms superiority of the USA and massive agricultural failure in the Soviet Union, the USSR was trying "to seek allies in Belgrade, Vienna and Tehran."



in India in this Conference is that it should take some steps towards reducing tension which can be followed by some other steps later on. It has often happened that informal approaches before a Conference have helped to make the Conference a success. It is hoped that such steps can be taken. It is true that in the US it has been said that the various steps taken by USSR are due to internal difficulties and tension; this is for home-propaganda. While it is true that France and the UK give in to pressure from the USA, beyond a certain limit they would not go at Geneva because of other factors. Even in the USA, Dulles is not the only representative; there is difference of opinion between Dulles and Eisenhower; Krishna Menon reports that Eisenhower, without making commitments, was very receptive to what he said and even Dulles was a little receptive;<sup>8</sup> there are many forces working in USA including those working for peace and we should assist the forces for peace. Mr Khrushchev said that public opinion in the USA should be organised; how can this be done from outside? Things should be done which affect public opinion in the USA which may act against Dulles and his propaganda. Eden in his message says that conditions are now more favourable than at any other time since the War; he may be referring to the USSR, but at any rate he hopes to achieve something from the Four Power Conference. At the Conference while France and the UK would outwardly throw their weight with the US but in fact they would be against the US because of the greater desire for peace; also, instead of Dulles there would be Eisenhower; so the meeting would not be one-sided. The statement that France is weak and is not much listened to is generally correct, but even weak countries make some difference, such as the influence of certain Asian countries on the US. I have found that the UK sometimes utilises a strong line taken by India to influence the US. Eden's message to me indicates that kind of pressure he wishes to exercise on the US through us. Sometimes when Eden wishes to say to the US that a certain policy of the US is going too far, he says to the US the countries like India are offended by it. That is the way his mind is likely to work. Our talks with the Soviet Government have created a certain effect in the US and the UK. I feel that my talks with Eden might strengthen the approach to peace at this Conference. I have not decided or consulted my

8. Krishna Menon met Eisenhower on 14 June in the presence of the Indian Ambassador to the US, G.L. Mehta, and J.F. Dulles. Menon suggested that direct negotiations between China and USA should begin over the Formosa and offshore islands issue and then only the "lesser" problem of US prisoners in China could be resolved. Eisenhower emphasised that it was not a minor issue but involved principles which were 'very fundamental' and deeply engaged popular sentiments. He assured that the Chinese residing in the US, except two individuals, who were privy to secret information, were free to return home. Menon met Dulles on the afternoon of 14 June and again on 15 June, when Dulles stated that the US might be agreeable to direct negotiations without any preconditions.

colleagues but I might go to London from Rome before I go back to India. Krishna Menon has reported after meeting Eisenhower and Dulles that their mind is still full of the question of the release of American airmen. Quite apart from the merits of the question it seems that if they were released before the Conference it would have far-reaching effect on public opinion in the US.

Bulganin: We are grateful for the elucidation and information about Eden's message; the UK's role is important and Dulles' and Eisenhower's relations being what they are; the UK's role may be more important than that of France. We can then be more hopeful and are very much interested in the matter and would like to maintain close contact with Eden. We would appreciate if you could tell Eden about our mood and that this is the view of our Government. After consulting Khrushchev, Kaganovich, and Mikoyan if things are as it appears from our talks, then we can be a little hopeful.

Khrushchev: This may be interpreted as USSR driving a wedge between USA and UK!

JN: It may be said that India is helping to drive this wedge!

Bulganin: If it is in the interest of peace they are welcome to say so. We would be grateful if Prime Minister Nehru helps in the matter.

Khrushchev: We agree that Eisenhower has a distinct desire for peace, but the atmosphere in the USA is so bad that not much can be expected from it. We should be under no illusions about it. Nevertheless, we should make every effort and we agree that your visit to London would be helpful. The big industrialists and monopolists of the US are not interested in the reduction of tension because they want to keep up production and employment. Among the armed forces in the US there are some who deliberately want war and attack USSR and reduce its progress and potential.<sup>9</sup> But European countries who would suffer thereby are more reasonable.

JN: I agree largely about this difference in the American and the European viewpoint. In the US itself there are two groups who are both working for

9. Since September 1954, three out of the four Joint Chiefs of Staff in the US—Arthur Radford, Robert B. Carney and Nathan F. Twining—favoured "a fight to the finish" with the USSR. Only General Matthew B. Ridgway opposed such a move. But in May 1955 it was declared that Ridgway was to retire on 30 June and Maxwell Taylor, C-in-C of US and UN forces in Far East, was to succeed him as the Army Chief of Staff.



profits; one who are of the view you state, but the other group wants trade; they even talk of trade with China as mentioned by the *Wall Street Journal*. I agree that some of the Army leaders are aggressive. Big business for other reasons is not so aggressive. The people of America realize that distance will not save them, so they are also for peace.

Khrushchev: We agree with your analysis that some people in business are not so aggressive but they are in a minority and do not count.

JN: Wall Street does count, especially with Eisenhower, but it is the people in the Pentagon who are aggressive. Mr Bulganin knows about them.

Mikoyan: France is frightened but exaggerates the strength of the USA and feels that they cannot fight without the US.

JN: The view I hear in London is that the US cannot do without the European Powers and if they take a strong line the US will have to accept it. When a really vital issue comes up and the European countries sense danger then they take up a strong attitude.

Kaganovich: We agree with you and wish the European countries took the same view as Mr Nehru.

Khrushchev: In the press we have noticed a campaign about our being a danger. This is not so, because we have taken measures to reduce tension by settlements in Geneva. Iran<sup>10</sup> and Austria; our disarmament proposals; our approach to West Germany. We have done the best we can but there has been little response to it, and instead our motives have been misinterpreted.

JN: Krishna Menon met Mr Molotov in New York or elsewhere. I am going to a press conference<sup>11</sup> and there I may be asked if I have invited Mr Bulganin. Have I your permission to say that you have accepted it?

Bulganin: I and my colleagues here thank you and gladly accept it. We are yet to talk of the Far East and the draft statement tomorrow at 4 p.m.

10. An agreement was signed in Tehran on 2 December 1954 between USSR and Iran regarding war debt repayment and mapping of their common boundary, parts of which had been in dispute for over a century. The question of repayment arose because of the Russian army's occupation of northern Iran during World War II and represented the cost of billeting the forces, food and their transport etc. Accordingly, USSR agreed to pay \$8,000,000 (£2, 700,000) plus eleven tons of gold to Iran.
11. Held on the same day at Spirido Novka Palace, Moscow.

## 6. Passion for Peace in the USSR<sup>1</sup>

Two weeks ago, we came to the Soviet Union and soon we shall be leaving this great country. During this period, we have travelled some thirteen thousand kilometers and visited many a famous city and seen many wonderful things.<sup>2</sup> But the most wonderful of all this has been the welcome that we received wherever we went and the affection that the people showered upon us. We are infinitely grateful for this affections and welcome, and I cannot express my thanks to the people of the Soviet Union adequately in words. nevertheless, I wish to express our gratitude to you, Mr Prime Minister, to your Government, and to your people, and I would beg of you to convey this expression of our deep feeling to the people of the Soviet Union who have so honoured us:

We came here to convey to the people of this great country the greetings and good wishes of the Indian people, and we go back laden with your affection and good wishes for our country and people.

We did not come here as strangers for many of us have followed with deep interest the great changes and developments that have taken place in this country. Almost contemporaneously with your October Revolution under the leadership of the great Lenin, we in India started a new phase of our struggle for freedom. Our people were engrossed in this struggle for many years and faced heavy repression with courage and endurance. Even though we pursued a different path in our struggle, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, we admired Lenin and were influenced by his example. In spite of this difference in our methods, there was at no time unfriendly feeling among our people towards the people of the Soviet Union. We did not understand some of the developments in your country, even as you might not have understood much that we did. We wished the Soviet Union well in the great and novel experiment it was making and tried to learn from it where we could. The backgrounds of our respective countries were different, their geography, history, traditions, culture and the circumstances in which they had to function.

We believed that the domination of one country over another was bad and, while we struggled for our own freedom, we sympathised with the endeavours of other countries, suffering alien or autocratic rule, to free themselves. Each

1. Speech at a public meeting at Dynamo Stadium, Moscow, 21 June 1955. JN Collection.
2. For the first time since 1917, the head of a non-communist nation was allowed to address audiences in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tashkent, Alma Ata, Samarkand, Ashkhabad, Sverdlovsk and other cities. Nehru's address to an estimated eighty to hundred thousand people in Moscow's Dynamo stadium was described in the press as "historic".



country and people have been conditioned by their own past and by the experiences they have gone through, and have developed a certain individuality. They cannot progress under alien rule or if something from outside is imposed upon them. They can only grow if they develop self-reliance and their own strength and maintain their own integrity. We have all to learn from others and cannot isolate ourselves, but that learning cannot be fruitful if it is an imposition.

We believe in democracy and in equality and in the removal of special privilege and we have set ourselves the goal of developing a socialist pattern of society in our country through peaceful methods. Whatever shape that pattern or democracy might take, it must lead to open access to knowledge and equal opportunity for all.

It is in recognition of the right of each country to fashion its own destiny that the Government of India and the People's Government of China agreed to Five Principles to govern their relations with each other. These principles were: respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. Subsequently, these principles were accepted by Burma and Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Government has also expressed its approval of them. At the Bandung Conference these principles were elaborated into ten and embodied in a Declaration on World Peace and Cooperation.<sup>3</sup> Thus, over thirty countries have accepted them. I have no doubt that these principles of international behaviour, if accepted and acted upon by all the countries of the world, would go a long way to put an end to the fears and apprehensions which cast a dark shadow over the world.

The progress of science and its offspring, technology, have changed the world we live in, and recent advances in science are changing the way men think of themselves and of the world. Even conceptions of time and space have changed and vast expanses open out for us to explore the mysteries of nature and to apply our knowledge for the betterment of humanity. Science and technology have freed humanity from many of its burdens and given us this new perspective and great power. That power can be used for the good of all if wisdom governs our actions, or if the world is mad or foolish it can destroy itself just when great advances and triumphs are almost within its grasp.

The question of peace, therefore, becomes of paramount importance if this world of ours is to make progress or indeed even to survive. Peace, in our view, is not merely an abstention from war but an active and positive approach to international relations, leading first, to the lessening of present day tension and an attempt to solve our problems by methods of negotiation, and then a

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, p. 137.

growing cooperation between nations in various ways, cultural and scientific contacts, increase in trade and the commerce and exchange of ideas, experience and information. We should endeavour to remove all walls and barriers to the growth of our minds and hearts and such as come in the way of international cooperation. There is no reason why countries having different political or social or economic systems should not cooperate in this way, provided there is no interference with each other and no imposition or attempt to dominate.

Wherever I have gone in the Soviet Union, I have found a passion for peace. I believe that the vast majority of people in every country hunger for peace, but fear of others often clouds their minds and makes them act in a different way. It is this fear and hatred that we must shed and try to cultivate the climate of peace. Out of war or threat of war or continuous preparation for war, no peace can emerge.

In India we have been devoted to the cause of peace and even in our struggles we have endeavoured to pursue methods of peace. For our own progress, as well as for the causes that are dear to us, peace is essential. We will therefore strive for peace to the utmost of our ability and cooperate with other nations in this vital task.

I should like to congratulate the Government of the Soviet Union on the several steps it has taken in recent months which have lessened world tension and contributed to the cause of peace. In particular, I trust that the recent proposals of the Soviet Union in regard to disarmament will lead to progress towards the solution of this difficult problem. Disarmament is essential if fear is to be removed and peace assured.

We plan for our material and cultural advance in our respective countries. Let us also plan for the peaceful cooperation of different countries for the common good and the elimination of war.

Countries make pacts and alliances, often through fear of some other country or countries. Let our coming together be because we like each other and wish to cooperate and not because we dislike others and wish to do them injury.

As I speak to you, the United Nations are holding a special session in San Francisco to celebrate the tenth anniversary of its foundation. The United Nations Organisation is based on a Charter, nobly worded and aiming at peaceful cooperation. The hopes that the peoples of the world had from this world organisation have not been wholly fulfilled and much has happened that came in the way of the ideals of the Charter. I earnestly hope that in this new decade of the United Nations, which is now beginning, these hopes will find fulfilment. But the United Nations cannot represent all the peoples of the world if some nations are kept out of its scope. More particularly, we have long felt that the non-recognition by the United Nations of the great People's Republic of China is not only an anomaly and not in keeping with spirit of the Charter but is a



danger to the promotion of peace and the solution of the world's problems. One of the most vital problems of today is that of the Far East and this cannot be settled without the goodwill and cooperation of the People's Republic of China. I trust that we shall soon see the People's Republic of China taking its rightful place in the United Nations, and that the attempts being made to find a solution of the problem of the Far East will meet with increasing success.

We live in a vital developing world, going forward to new discoveries and new triumphs, where man has increasing power at his disposal. Let us hope that this power will be controlled and governed by wisdom and tolerance, each nation contributing to the common good.

I have been deeply impressed by the great achievements of the Soviet Union. I have seen the transformation of this vast land through the industry of its people and the great urge that drives them forward to better their own condition. I have admired the music and dancing and the superb ballets that I have seen. I have been impressed most of all by the great care taken by the State and by the people, of the children and the younger generation of this great country.

I wish to thank you again, Mr Prime Minister, and your Government and your people for their friendliness and generous hospitality. The people of India wish you well and look forward to cooperate with you in many fields of common endeavour for the good of our respective countries as well as for the larger cause of humanity.

## 7. Talks with Soviet Leaders<sup>1</sup>

N.A. Bulganin: (i) Regarding the Far East we are surprised that it has not been included in the Four Power Agenda. We intend suggesting a six power conference to discuss the Far East which should include USA, UK, France, USSR, India and China.

(ii) Molotov met Krishna Menon on June 15th and was told about the release of American airmen; they seem to make it a condition precedent to the discussion of other matters. It is a delicate matter because it concerns

1. Minutes of meeting with Soviet leaders, Moscow, 22 June 1955. JN Collection. The minutes were prepared by M.A. Hussain.

Chinese sovereignty; but if we inform our Chinese friends the position as explained by you, we have no doubt they would take suitable action.

(iii) Regarding technical cooperation we are giving you an aide memoire offering full cooperation in a friendly manner. This is a preliminary document and should be regarded as making a beginning.

(iv) Our scientists say that Dr Bhabha would like to come to Moscow. We gladly invite him and our scientists would be happy to exchange views with him.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Regarding Dr Bhabha he will have the chance to discuss matters with your scientists at Geneva. He will certainly like to come to USSR but would be unable to do so till after the Geneva Conference; when he comes to Geneva he would discuss with your scientists the suitable time to come here.

Bulganin: Agreed.

JN: I shall inform him of your kind invitation. No formal invitation need be sent. Whenever he can come, he will inform the USSR Government.

Bulganin: Agreed. The invitation will be given by the Academy of Sciences.

JN: That will be suitable. I appreciate what you have said about technical cooperation. We shall consider your memorandum. Regarding Far East I agree that not to include this in the Four Power Agenda is absurd. It is a most important question and is bound to be discussed there. The UK Foreign Minister<sup>2</sup> said in Parliament that there will be no agenda and the atmosphere was favourable for a free exchange of views. When Krishna Menon met Macmillan and St. Laurent he was well impressed by their reaction to his approach.<sup>3</sup> USA has not replied to China's invitation for direct talks, but they feel the desirability of responding favourably. Eden said that he felt that Eisenhower would favour this approach but Dulles and others would not do so. The talks should be informal and hostilities should be suspended. No one can expect anything from such talks, but if the barrier could be broken and a better atmosphere created, formal talks could be held later. This may be discussed at the Four Power

2. Harold Macmillan.

3. Menon met Macmillan and Eden in London between 3 and 8 June and St. Laurent and Lester Pearson at Ottawa on 9 June.



Conference; certainly, but before it is done some informal direct talks should take place between Peking and Washington which would indirectly (not directly) push out Chiang Kai-shek. In these matters in order to achieve results it is not always possible to proceed logically or directly; one may have to proceed indirectly. The US has not replied, but has not rejected it either. They are considering the matter.<sup>4</sup> The UK Government is anxious about the matter, but how far they would go one does not know. It appears there has been some improvement in the US press & radio.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, I suggest that at this stage the idea of a six power conference might be premature, but at a later stage a larger conference might be helpful. Krishna Menon's main task in USA is to urge a favourable decision about talks with China, but every time they bring up the question of the American airmen, which is not connected with it and nor is it logical, but they are full of it. Last time when he saw Dulles he asked him eagerly about it.<sup>6</sup> I agree with Bulganin that it is a delicate matter and a matter for the Chinese Government and they cannot be forced to take action about it; but we can tell them as friends that it would have a desirable effect on the international situation. This has become a complex with the Americans. Krishna Menon told me that the US Government has made further progress with the Chinese students; they are likely to let some others go. Regarding the Hong Kong disaster the UK has lately been giving full cooperation and Chou En-lai has recently expressed his appreciation of this.<sup>7</sup>

Khrushchev: By and large I agree that Dulles and others are concerned about the airmen, but this should not be equated with the Chinese students who are being held illegally and improperly, while the position of the airmen

4. Eisenhower had told Krishna Menon on 14 June that the pressure of American public opinion and precepts of US foreign policy had made it impossible for him to negotiate the return of the US airmen as against the permission to return the Chinese citizens in the US. He felt that any possibility of direct talks between US and China could only arise if the US airmen were released.
5. Nehru's opinion was influenced by a telegram from Krishna Menon of 19 June 1955. where he had informed that after his talks with Eisenhower and Dulles "atmosphere and attitude of press and radio to us has appreciably changed for better, although patronising."
6. Menon met Dulles on 15 June in New York and suggested that in order to assuage American public opinion, families of US airmen and journalists could visit China. Menon asked if they could discuss the hypothetical situation if the US airmen were released, the Chinese residents in US would be allowed to go back in that case. Dulles stated that the US would accept no condition whatever and demanded immediate release of US airmen.
7. See *post*, pp. 351-352.

is quite different.<sup>8</sup> They should not be asked to act in a manner which may be regarded as arising from weakness which would create difficulties elsewhere.

JN: I entirely agree that the two questions are separate and should not be equated. I only mentioned this because Dulles pressed for it whenever we raised the matter independently.

Bulganin: We are agreed about the American airmen and we will inform our Chinese friends. We are grateful to be informed about Krishna Menon's activities about the Four Power Conference. Regarding your suggestion about the Four Power Conference we would take appropriate action. While we are discussing the general international situation and reducing tension, we propose suggesting at a later stage India's inclusion as the sixth member of the Security Council.

JN: Perhaps Bulganin knows that some people in USA have suggested that India should replace China in the Security Council. This is to create trouble between us and China. We are, of course, wholly opposed to it. Further, we are opposed to pushing ourselves forward to occupy certain positions because that may itself create difficulties and India might itself become a subject of controversy. If India is to be admitted to the Security Council it raises the question of the revision of the Charter of the UN. We feel that this should not be done till the question of China's admission and possibly of others is first solved. I feel that we should first concentrate on getting China admitted. What is Bulganin's opinion about the revision of the Charter? In our opinion this does not seem to be an appropriate time for it.

Bulganin: We proposed the question of India's membership of the Security Council to get your views, but agree that this is not the time for it and it will have to wait for the right moment later on. We also agree that things should be taken one by one.

JN: I would like to know Bulganin's views about the admission of new members, apart, of course, from the question of China.

Bulganin: Our position is that either we should admit fourteen States or six States.

8. Eisenhower, on the other hand, during his meeting with Menon on 14 June, felt that the Korean Armistice Agreement had provided a legal basis for the return of all the POWs to their desired destination and reiterated that "all the Chinese in this country were free to go if they wanted to."



JN: What about Ceylon and Nepal?

Bulganin: They are included in the fourteen countries. If any more countries are to be added to the six States then fourteen should be admitted.

JN: What about Laos and Cambodia?

Bulganin: We are prepared to add them to the fourteen countries.<sup>9</sup>

9. These fourteen countries were: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Sri Lanka, Finland, Hungary, Eire, Italy, Jordan, Libya, Nepal, Portugal, Romania and Spain. Alongwith Laos and Cambodia they were admitted to the UN on 14 December 1955.

## 8. Talks with Polish Leaders<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yesterday you said that certain forces were working against the success of the Geneva Agreement.<sup>2</sup> We know that the United States is against the Agreement and is now doing certain things which would lead to its breakdown. We, like yourself, are interested in the implementation of the Agreement. The question is what we should do now. The Agreement was drafted in a hurry and lends itself to more than one interpretation. We feel that normally the Commission should get the parties to agree rather than impose a decision on them. At Bandung we tried to bring the parties together; Chou En-lai was satisfied with the assurances that Norodom Sihanouk, the ex-King of Cambodia gave us;<sup>3</sup> there was also some rapprochement between RLG and DRV; the

1. Minutes of talks with Polish leaders, Warsaw, 24 June 1955. JN Collection. The minutes were prepared by M.A. Hussain.
2. Nehru arrived at Warsaw on 23 June and met Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman, Council of Ministers, Marian Naszkowski, Acting Foreign Minister, and Aleksander Zawadzki, President, Council of States. Cyrankiewicz, in response to Nehru's query about the situation in Indo-China, had stated that the United States was doing its best to break the Geneva Agreement and that he was anxious to ensure its success.
3. During his conversations with Nehru at New Delhi and with Chou En-lai at Bandung, Sihanouk assured that Cambodia would maintain her neutrality at any cost, but given the severe financial crisis following the drying up of French economic assistance, it had become imperative on his part to seek economic aid to sustain his country. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, pp. 184-188.



AT THE HERMITAGE MUSEUM, MOSCOW, 8 JUNE 1955





VISITS A CHURCH IN THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW, 8 JUNE 1955



ON A VISIT TO STALIN COLLECTIVE FARM, YANGI-YUL,  
UZBEKISTAN, JUNE 1955





AT A STATE BANQUET, MOSCOW, 9 JUNE 1955

only difficulty was about the South Vietnam Government. Let us first take up the question of Cambodia. The difficulty has arisen largely as a result of the recent Cambodia-United States Agreement;<sup>4</sup> Sihanouk had promised me and Chou En-lai that Cambodia would maintain their neutrality; at the same time he explained his difficulties particularly in regard to economic conditions prevailing in Cambodia; we told him that we could give technical help and also provide personnel for training the Cambodian Army; Chou En-lai agreed that India rather than China should give the necessary assistance. The main difficulty is that Cambodia has a deficit of forty million dollars; Cambodia used to get help from France which has now naturally ceased. I mentioned this to Anthony Eden and he agreed that India should give to Cambodia the assistance required. U Nu spoke to Dulles about this who also agreed that there was no objection to India giving assistance to Cambodia. There was a suggestion that the United States might pay this forty million dollars through India, but we did not wish to become a go-between for this payment. At Bandung, Sihanouk told us about a United States offer of assistance, but said that they had not accepted it because political strings were attached to it. When the United States-Cambodia Agreement was signed, we pointed out the provisions contrary to the Geneva Agreement. The Cambodian Government issued a Memorandum stating that the criticism was not justified and what was stated in the Agreement was to satisfy Congressional demands and was in no way binding on Cambodia; they also said that if the Agreement restricted them in any way they would renounce it.<sup>5</sup> Sihanouk informed us that if we were still not satisfied they would be quite prepared to have a referendum on this issue in Cambodia. It is clear to us that a referendum in Cambodia has really no meaning and would only put us and the Commission in a false position. Further, if the Commission denounced the United States-Cambodia Agreement it would not prevent Cambodia from going ahead with getting aid from the United States; so it would mean that the Commission would cease to function and the Geneva Agreement would break down. This appears to us to be the position arising from the United States-Cambodia Agreement. I would now welcome your views in this matter.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz:<sup>6</sup> We share your views; the United States-Cambodia Agreement is contrary to the Geneva Agreement and takes us away from

4. Signed on 16 May 1955. See *ante*, p. 214.

5. In a Communiqué issued by the Cambodian Government on 29 May, it was clarified that the aid was to be received without any strings and the Khmer Government would "scrupulously respect the dispositions of the Geneva Agreement" and the declaration of neutrality given by Sihanouk at Bandung.

6. (b. 1911); Chairman, Council of Ministers, 1947-52 and 1954-70; President, 1970-72; Chairman, World Peace Council, 1973.



it. This is another example of United States interference in that area; it indicates not only a desire to dominate the countries in that area, but also to close the ring around China and is no doubt a matter of considerable concern to India. This action of the United States indicates their general line of policy in that area. You said that the adoption of a sharp line by the Commission would lead to the breakdown of the Geneva Agreement; the fact of the matter is that this is already being done by the United States-Cambodia Agreement.

Bolestaw Bierut:<sup>7</sup> I would like to know what democratic forces exist in Cambodia who could be assisted to oppose the United States-Cambodia Agreement.

JN: There are some such forces but it is not possible for them to express themselves. I agree that the United States is trying to burrow in, but Sihanouk is not doing this in a "bad way"; the desire to get substantial financial assistance seems to be very strong. The question is what the Commission should do under these circumstances?

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: Whenever India supports democratic forces in that area we welcome the growth of such influence; we feel concerned when India's influence is substituted by that of the United States. I would like to ask your views as to how the independence of the countries in this area can be ensured and what we can do to assist in the matter.

JN: It is clear that the Commission cannot possibly accept the United States-Cambodia Agreement, and at the same time the Commission cannot clear out of Cambodia leaving the country completely in the hands of the United States. The question is whether or not it is possible for the Commission to steer a middle course? Have you seen the Cambodian Government memorandum on the subject of the United States-Cambodia Agreement?<sup>8</sup>

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: No.

JN: It is extraordinary that this Memorandum substantially denounces the United States-Cambodia Agreement. It was suggested that the Commission could ask the Cambodian Government for elucidation while pointing out the provisions against the Geneva Agreement. In answer to that the Cambodian Government would presumably repeat what they have already stated in their Memorandum.

7. (1892-1956); 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Workers Party, Poland, 1955-56.

8. See *post*, p. 354.

(The Prime Minister read out the summary of the main points of the Cambodian Government's Memorandum.) I suggest that the Commission should formally ask for an explanation from the Cambodian Government. Thereafter, the first alternative is that the Commission may refuse to accept the explanation which would lead to a breakdown of the Geneva Agreement. The second alternative is to substantially accept the explanation of the Cambodian Government but publicly ask for assurances for implementation of the explanation given. On getting these assurances the Commission should watch the situation and step in whenever anything contrary to the assurances given is done by the United States in practice. This would enable the Commission to supervise the position between the United States and Cambodia. I do not wish to play into the hands of the Americans and bring about a breakdown of the Geneva Agreement. Mr Bierut asked me about the democratic forces in Cambodia; the fact is the Cambodian Government and Sihanouk are in full control of the situation in their country and if we try to interfere, we, rather than the United States, may be charged with interference in the internal affairs of their country.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: And we also lack the money to do so.

Hilary Minc:<sup>9</sup> Some kind of a protest from the Commission seems inevitable.

JN: Would it not be better to make the protest in the manner suggested by me? If you condemn the United States-Cambodia Agreement wholesale, the door would be closed.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: The form and the tone of the protest is a matter to be discussed, but the general idea is acceptable to us. Another problem is the question of the 11th September elections. Could the kind of things you mentioned about the holding of a referendum in Cambodia be avoided at these elections?

JN: The Commission should try and see that this does not happen.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: What are the possibilities of guaranteeing freedom for democratic forces in Cambodia?

JN: It is difficult for me to go into details but the Commission should carefully examine the matter. After all, that is what the Commission is meant for.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: That is true, but you see that despite the existence of

9. First Deputy of Chairman, Jozef Cyrankiewicz.



the Commission the Cambodian Government have entered into an Agreement with the United States contrary to the Geneva Agreement.

JN: We ourselves and you can justifiably draw the attention of the Commission to this matter.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: Perhaps we could work out on the spot some joint programme which would ensure free elections. The elections have a set date; so it should be possible to devise some practical measures for securing free elections before that time. The Commission should be very strict about this and give definite directions in the matter.

Bolestaw Bierut: It should be the task of the Commission to ensure the prevention of terror and breach of election rules to enable the democratic forces in the country, we were talking about, to express themselves.

JN: The Commission is of course entrusted with the task of ensuring free elections but we must also remember that Cambodia is a backward country and an election machinery has to be built up from scratch.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: The contribution of our two Governments to the Commission could be of great value in this regard.

JN: I agree that ours is the main responsibility.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: Our representatives on the Commission should receive coordinated advice.

Bolestaw Bierut: Our representatives on the Commission have been told to cooperate with the Indian representatives, of course, within certain limitations.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: I hope the cooperation about which Mr Bierut has spoken could now be based on a clear and firm directive.

Bolestaw Bierut: What is the position in the other two countries?

JN: 20th July has been fixed for talks between North and South Vietnam. But there is virtually civil war going on in South Vietnam.<sup>10</sup> Our view is that the

10. The Ngo Dinh Diem regime in South Vietnam faced opposition from conservative warlords, who desired to restore Bao Dai's power and were being tacitly supported by France in their endeavours. Bao Dai was finally deposed in 1956 after a referendum and South Vietnam was declared a republic in October 1956.

talks must take place and the Commission should initiate them. DRV is willing for the talks but South Vietnam is creating difficulties. Some time ago the United Kingdom advised the Government of South Vietnam to propose talks with DRV. We still think that the Commission should take the initiative and we, therefore, handed over a Memorandum on this subject to the representatives in New Delhi of Poland, Cambodia, USSR, and the United Kingdom.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: We share your views and I may add that the civil war in South Vietnam does not originate from internal sources.

JN: Yes, but even the French and the United States do not agree with each other on this! About Laos the only possibility is for the Commission to bring about an agreement by negotiation with both the parties.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: We are of the same opinion.

JN: As you know the leader of Pathet Lao is a member of the Royal family.<sup>11</sup> The only satisfactory settlement can be an overall settlement.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: We agree.

Marian Naskowski:<sup>12</sup> We have information that the United States wishes to have an agreement with Laos similar to the one that they concluded with Cambodia. We should try our best to counteract this move.

JN: Undoubtedly.

Jozef Cyrankiewicz: Generally speaking, there should be close collaboration between our representatives for the implementation of the Geneva Agreement.

JN: I fully agree with you.

11. Prince Souphannouvong.

12. Acting Foreign Minister of Poland.



## 9. Talks with Austrian Leaders<sup>1</sup>

Julius Raab<sup>2</sup>: What was your experience in USSR? Do you think their aggressive intentions have diminished?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I received a tremendous reception from the public, that is to say apart from the warm welcome which the Government gave. The popular enthusiasm far exceeded the arrangements made by Government.<sup>3</sup> For example, Bulganin went with me to an engagement but we were delayed by nearly forty minutes because of the crowd which had not been anticipated. My impression of Government and leaders was that they were sincere about peace. Even before I left India, the local Communist Party instead of being encouraged was being discouraged; that is to say that the USSR Government want the friendship of the Indian Government rather than the Communist Party of India. They published my book *Discovery of India* which is in many respects critical of communism.

Raab: We in Europe do not understand the reason for this change; may be it is the Paris Agreement or the growing power of China.

JN: The change in USSR is a normal development; they could not keep up endlessly the previous pressure.<sup>4</sup>

Adolf Schaerf:<sup>5</sup> Mikoyan told me that the cost of production of the atom bomb was so great that it would hamper economic development.

1. Minutes of talks with Austrian leaders, Vienna, 27 June 1955. The minutes were prepared by M.A. Hussain. JN Collection. Also available in S. Dutt Papers. NMML.
2. (1891-1964); Chancellor of Austria, 1953-61.
3. Similar sentiments were expressed by K.P.S. Menon in his memoir *The Flying Troika* where he stated: "It would be wrong to attribute the success of the visit merely to the efficiency of the Communist Party machine. The reasons lie deeper. India has a quaint appeal to Russia.... To them steeped in the philosophy of materialism Mahatma Gandhi was a holy puzzle. Nehru was easier for them to understand. What they admired in him was not that he had merely won India's independence but he was determined to protect it against threats and blandishments."
4. The changes were the increasing Soviet efforts at reduction of international tensions such as, signing of Austrian Treaty, normalization of relations with Yugoslavia and Iran, disarmament proposals, invitation to Adenauer, and agreeing for summit talks with the Western Powers. This began the destalinisation process, starting with Malenkov's removal and taking over the reins of leadership by Bulganin and Khrushchev.
5. Vice Chancellor of Austria.

JN: There is a great deal of development going on in USSR. In Central Asia whole cities are growing up. There are big factories which are becoming bigger to which we were taken and to which, except the Chinese, no other outsider has been taken. This development indicated the desire for peace. The Chancellor mentioned rivalry with China; this may be potential, but for the present they are dependant on each other. In their last treaty USSR have agreed to put up in the next five years 400 major plants.<sup>6</sup> They are training the Chinese; for example we saw 200 in one automobile factory. They are manufacturing machinery for the Chinese for which they are training Chinese personnel.

Raab: Do you think then that their policy has changed?

JN: I think so; the atom bomb has made them think differently.

Raab: I agree that to think of war is impossible. We would be grateful if you could help us to be admitted to the United Nations.

JN: I asked the Soviet leaders about their attitude to the admission of new members to the United Nations; they mentioned Austria among the countries to be admitted; they desired admission of all countries awaiting membership and, if that cannot be done, then, admission of six countries which includes Austria. So far as we are concerned we would be glad to support Austria's admission to the United Nations.

Raab: As you know the Austrian Treaty provides that we would avoid alliances;<sup>7</sup> as soon as the foreign troops leave our country, which process we hope would be completed by October next, we propose incorporating the concept of neutrality in our Constitution.

JN: The Soviet leaders stressed the various steps they have taken to decrease international tension; in this connection they always mentioned Austria first, then inviting Adenauer and so on. I did not discuss with them the question of Germany because I do not consider myself competent to discuss Germany. I discussed the Far East and Indo-China.

Raab: Did you discuss East European countries?

JN: I did not discuss Eastern Europe because they would definitely have denied

6. By the Sino-Soviet Agreement of October 1954.

7. The Treaty was signed in Vienna on 15 May 1955 by the Foreign Ministers of the four occupying Allied forces.



that they are satellites. These countries are obviously under their influence. I spent one day in Czechoslovakia and two and a half days in Poland. My impression was that the Czechoslovak people are a very unhappy people. But that was not so in Poland.

Raab: We have had a great deal of trouble with the Peoples' Democracies who are our neighbours. On our border they attack any person who crosses the border. These border incidents give us a lot of trouble.

JN: It seems the USSR are now much freer in permitting outsiders to visit the Soviet Union than before. It is perhaps not so with the Eastern democracies. Among international problems perhaps the most difficult question is that of the Far East.

Raab: What is your opinion of the Formosa question?

JN: Our view is that Formosa must ultimately go to China but this question must be settled peacefully and not by war. Also, Formosa should have internal self-government. At Bandung, Chou En-lai told us they were prepared to accept the civil and military officers of Formosa and to absorb them all and even give Chiang Kai-shek a Marshal's rank. At Bandung Chou En-lai invited Krishna Menon and had long talks with him in Peking. Chou En-lai offered to have direct talks with the United States informally or formally. We do not think that at this stage formal talks would help, but we think informal direct talks should take place between China and the United States. Some progress has been made in that the United States has said that they would not encourage or help Chiang Kai-shek to attack the mainland. If Chiang is not to attack the mainland his *raison d'être* disappears; you should not forget that his army is an aging army and it does not have new recruits. If this army is not to go to war then they would become demoralised and consequently Chiang's position would become untenable. The United States Government asked for a ceasefire; but the Chinese Government said, "ceasefire with whom, because we are not at war with the United States; so far as Formosa is concerned it is an internal problem". Neither party has formally agreed to a ceasefire but informally there is practically a ceasefire. The United Kingdom's position is that Quemoy and Matsu should be evacuated peacefully and then occupied by China which would decrease tension and lessen chances of war. The Chinese position is quite near to them. If this gets settled then Formosa does not remain an urgent problem. There is another question which exercises American public opinion a great deal and that is the question of the release of the US airmen. Four of them have already been released largely because of the initiative of Mr Krishna Menon. As regards the rest Chou En-lai told me in Bandung that they had decided to release

them.<sup>8</sup> When the *Kashmir Princess* disaster took place it made it difficult for them to do so. The sabotage of the Air India International plane was the work of KMT Chinese, which was intended for Chou En-lai himself. This aroused public opinion in China a great deal and made it difficult for the Chinese Government to release the airmen.

Raab: We would like the enlargement of trade with India.

JN: We would welcome this.

Raab: What do you expect from the Geneva Conference?

JN: One cannot expect much but we hope a better atmosphere would be created. If I may speak frankly, Eisenhower is a man of peace but Dulles is not. United States public opinion is very variable and the United States foreign policy is not a definite policy but consists of reactions to events and it all depends so much on elections, this, that and the others. The success or otherwise of the Geneva Conference will depend on Eisenhower's attitude on the one hand and of the Russians on the other.

Raab: No one would dare to start a war now.

JN: Logically this is correct, but something may happen which may set off a war; that is why danger in the Far East is so great.

Leopold Figl:<sup>9</sup> You are doing a great deal in the cause of peace.

JN: We and countries like Burma are doing our best but no one can stop a sudden incident leading to war. Take the question of Indo-China. Cambodia has entered into a Military Agreement with the United States and that according to the Chinese is a breach of the Geneva Agreement.<sup>10</sup> Austria can contribute a great deal to peace by creating a good atmosphere to Europe.

Figl: As soon as foreign troops have vacated Austria and we are master of our own house we shall do the best we can.

8. The first lot of four US army men were released on 31 May and the second lot of eleven airmen were released on 1 August 1955.

9. Acting Foreign Minister, Austria.

10. Chou En-lai considered the US-Cambodia Agreement as an extension of the Manila Treaty and part of the US policy to step up aggressive military block in South East Asia. He felt that the Agreement violated the neutrality clause of the Geneva Agreement.



## 10. International and National Situation<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister commenced by giving a broad picture of the situation in East Asia. He stated that India was participating more and more in international affairs despite her desire not to take new responsibilities. India's importance had grown due to her intimate relations with the People's Republic of China on the one hand and the UK on the other. The close relationship which India had with these countries enabled her to make approaches to them and to say things which many other nations could not. In regard to the USA, India's relations were such that she could not say many things directly to her but did so indirectly through UK.

Looking at the general international situation, the USSR and the USA were two countries which may be said to represent two opposite ends of the pole. In between these two extremes there were certain countries which were completely tied up with either of these two big powers and therefore, for practical purposes could more or less be ignored in considering the international situation. The East European countries were tied up with the Soviet Union; on the other side, Turkey and Thailand completely towed the American line. The UK and France were two countries which, while allied to the USA disliked the extremes of the US policy. They, therefore, endeavour to influence the US policy in the initial stages of its formation, but eventually fall in line with it. Sometimes, however, the UK and France took a different line from that of the USA as was demonstrated during the Geneva Conference, when the fear of an extension of hostilities proved stronger than their alliance with the USA, UK and France, despite the opposition of the United States, concluded the Geneva Agreements.

The People's Republic of China due to its importance could also be said to represent a pole in the matter of international policy. While the People's Republic of China gave full support to the Soviet Union in matters concerning Europe, the Chinese tend to follow an independent line in matters which affect them more intimately in East Asia. From the point of view of the US and the UK, China compared to USSR is the more extreme and rigid.

The Geneva Agreement on Indo-China was the result of the desire between the opposing parties to find an equilibrium in that region of Asia. France and the UK were desirous of ending hostilities and preventing further bloodshed. The United States reluctantly accepted this because they were not directly involved, but in Formosa they are directly involved by way of prestige, etc. In Indo-China American help flowed on a very large scale; the help given was

1. Proceedings of the conference of the heads of Indian Missions in Europe; Salzburg, Austria, 28-30 June, 1955. File No. 64/HC, MEA. Extracts.

twenty times more than given by China to the Vietminh. Nevertheless DRV could not be defeated militarily. The alternative was to carry on the war on a bigger scale or to come to some kind of a settlement. The French insisted on the latter; Dulles, therefore, sulked at Geneva. The People's Republic of China, on the other hand, was afraid of US military bases being extended to the region of Indo-China. Therefore, they agreed to the Indo-Chinese States being neutralised as far as military alliances go. The Geneva Agreements show signs of hurried drafting in view of the time-limit set by Mr Mendes-France.<sup>2</sup> The hurriedly drafted agreements were relatively clear in respect of Vietnam, but those dealing with Laos and Cambodia have yielded to various interpretations,<sup>3</sup> thereby giving trouble to the International Supervisory Commission of which India is the Chairman. The USSR and China are prepared to accept facts as they are; the UK and France are also prepared to do so; but the United States is not so prepared. The Manila Conference was unnecessary and made no difference to the military situation.<sup>4</sup> The Powers concerned were already lined up. From the United States' point of view they held the Manila Conference in order to balance what had happened in Geneva. The UK and France joined in to soothe the United States who had been ruffled and also to check the United States.

The Prime Minister spoke of the dangers of an interlocking system of military alliances in the present-day world. Examining the military alliances of the NATO, and guarantees given by the USA to Formosa and South Korea, one finds that some States form part of all these alliances thereby becoming liable to get involved in war due to the acts of some other smaller powers. The danger to world peace lies in not what countries like the UK and France do, but in the actions of people like Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee who by their actions may drag any other power into a general war and who alone have to gain from war. The Pentagon (in the USA) in its desire to weaken the People's Republic of China and the communist countries was not entirely averse to war. The USSR, the Prime Minister thought, did not want war and the Chinese People's Republic, was also averse to a war. However, relatively speaking,

2. Pierre Mendes-France, the then French Premier, had given his word to the French Parliament that he would have a solution to the Indo-China problem by 20 July 1954 or resign. This set the deadline for signing of the Geneva Agreements.
3. The confusion arose chiefly due to the Vietminh's direct involvement in the resistance movements of Cambodia, through Khmer-Issarak, and of Laos, through Pathet Lao. At Geneva, Agreement on cessation of hostilities in Cambodia was signed by the Commander, Khmer Nationalist Army and Vice-Minister of Defence, Vietminh; and on Laos, by the C-in-C of French Union in Indo-China and the C-in-C of Pathet Lao. In Cambodia, the Khmer-Issarak, and in Laos, the Royal Laotian Army, refused to abide by the Agreements and staked their political suzerainty over the area under their occupation.
4. The Manila Treaty was signed on 8 September 1954. For the military consequences of the Treaty, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 9, 48, 116, 125 and 205.



China was less averse to war than the USSR and its policies gave a feeling that she was more aggressive. The USA thinks quite naively that China perhaps did not know the consequences of a third world nuclear war, but this was not so. The People's Republic of China had taken a certain position with regard to Formosa which they would never give up whatever the cost, even if this meant the death of millions of Chinese. Hence, the Prime Minister asked, how could one frighten a party which was prepared to pay any price for certain basic issues? The Chinese People's Republic had made it clear that a peaceful solution of the Formosa problem was possible provided there were no interference from the USA. There was no doubt that, if the enormous aid given to Chiang Kai-shek by the USA was withdrawn, the Chiang Kai-shek regime would collapse. An eventual solution of the Formosa problem may lie in the possibility of internal autonomy to the island with a federal link with the Chinese mainland.

Referring to the talks held by Shri V.K. Krishna Menon, the Prime Minister said that as far as the Quemoy and Matsu islands were concerned, Chiang Kai-shek did not want to give up these islands because of the serious influence such an act would have on the morale of his supporters. The Pentagon in the USA had decided on war on the Formosa issue two or three times but it was President Eisenhower who overruled them. Secretary of State Dulles and three Generals were for war, only General Ridgway<sup>5</sup> was against it.<sup>6</sup> President Eisenhower had said plainly that he would prevent Chiang Kai-shek from invading the mainland of China. Chiang Kai-shek's army in Formosa was an aging army and not very reliable either. Being composed entirely of troops brought from the mainland, it was getting no fresh recruits and was therefore incapable of fighting in a big way. It was being continuously fed on propaganda of going back to the mainland. Therefore, if such a prospect did not materialise in the near future, the effect on the morale of Chiang's troops would be disastrous.

President Eisenhower's statement that he would prevent Chiang Kai-shek from invading the mainland had somewhat undermined the position of the United States in the Far East. Dulles seems to be taking up the line that there should be a ceasefire in the Formosa area before any talks could be held with the People's Republic of China. The latter, on the other hand, did not accept this position since it held that there was no war against the United States.

The position of the UK was rather embarrassing in relation to the East Asian situation because of their recognition of the People's Republic of China. The UK were of the view that the Quemoy and the Matsu islands should be immediately evacuated by Chiang's forces, there should be an unofficial ceasefire and the question of Formosa should then be decided at leisure. The position which Great Britain had taken in this matter was broadly in line with Indian

5. Matthew B. Ridgway (1895-1993); Chief of Staff, US Army, 1953-55.

6. See *ante*, p. 223.

policy except that we also held the view that because of Potsdam, etc., Formosa should belong to the People's Republic of China.<sup>7</sup>

Shri V.K. Krishna Menon in his talks on the Far Eastern situation had found the British Government favourable to his approach. President Eisenhower had also been receptive and friendly although non-committal. Dulles, on the other hand, had been not so friendly to Shri V.K. Krishna Menon's efforts. The Prime Minister pointed out that in his talks Shri Krishna Menon had been adopting a flexible attitude and had made no rigid or formal approaches to either party because of the difficulty of the question of Formosa's representation and because of the desirability of not committing any party to a definite line at this moment.

The interviews of Shri V.K. Krishna Menon with Eisenhower, Dulles and others have been very useful. The approach in such matters has to be very flexible; it is difficult to raise these points formally, so one has to be very careful. For example, Dulles asked Krishna Menon: "Would the Chinese talk to us?" We knew that the Chinese were prepared to do so but we did not say so because thereby we could go a little further than we would have otherwise. At the lunch at Bandung, Romulo,<sup>8</sup> Mohammad Ali,<sup>9</sup> Prince Wan,<sup>10</sup> etc. were impressed by Chou En-lai because of his expositions and attitude towards Formosa. Prime Minister suggested to Chou En-lai that since he could not be sure how Mohammad Ali might put the matters to the United States,<sup>11</sup> it would be better for him to make a statement himself which he did.<sup>12</sup>

The release of four US airmen which took place subsequently was the result of considerable pressure from India although there has been a tendency

7. This was decided by the Allied Powers in Yalta in February 1945 and again in Potsdam in July 1945.
8. Carlos P. Romulo (1899-1985); leader of the Philippines delegation to Bandung; Ambassador to the USA, 1955-62.
9. Mohammad Ali Bogra, Prime Minister of Pakistan and leader of Pakistani delegation to Bandung.
10. K.N.B. Wan Waithayakon (1891-1975); leader of the Thai delegation to Bandung; Foreign Minister of Thailand, 1952-58.
11. Ali met Chou at Bandung on 25 April and the next day he briefed the US Ambassador to Indonesia, Hugh S. Cumming, that Chou En-lai was sincere in his declarations and had said that China had made a gesture and the US had not responded to it. Chou invited Ali to visit Beijing to discuss the matter, which was vetoed by the US State Department, which felt that "We should not encourage Ali to accept Chou's invitation or seek definitely to dissuade him since it might be misunderstood and possibly misused by him."
12. Before meeting Mohammad Ali, Chou En-lai had stated on 23 April, during the discussion on world peace at Bandung, that China believed in sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries; abstention from aggression, military threats and interference in the internal affairs of other countries; respected the right of people to choose their own way of life and political systems, and settlement of all international disputes through peaceful means.



in the world press, specially that of USA and UK, to play down India's role in this matter and to play up the visit of Hammarskjold to Peking.<sup>13</sup> With regard to the rest of the airmen the Chinese were prepared to release them as well but the *Kashmir Princess* disaster stopped that. Eden and other British leaders agree with us that but for Dulles, Eisenhower would adopt a more helpful and friendly attitude. When we raised the question of the Chinese students, while the Americans, of course, made no commitments, they were helpful about permitting them to go back to China. We were the first to be informed which enabled us to inform the Chinese Government before the news was published.

Recently the general tone of the Government of the USA and that of the US radio and press etc., had been better and less offensive in regard to the Far East. The present lull, however, was in expectation of something to come about. Therefore, if nothing happened in the immediate future, this lull was not likely to continue. India's object, therefore, was to take advantage of this peaceful atmosphere and to achieve something while this lull lasted. The attitude which India had taken was to resort to informal talks so as to bring the parties in dispute together. China and the USSR, however, thought more in terms of formal conferences with other nations. When, however, such a formal conference is discussed, the big question arises as to which parties should meet and one is confronted with the insurmountable difficulty of whether Formosa should be represented or not.

The USSR had done several things lately in the international sphere which have indicated a departure from their established policy. Examples of this were the Soviet Union's policy towards Austria and Yugoslavia, and lately the invitation to Dr Adenauer to visit Moscow. It is clear that they are going all out for some kind of a settlement. Prime Minister told them that if the Chinese released the remaining airmen, it would create a good atmosphere for the Four Power Conference. On the first day, they were cautious in their answers and non-committal. But on the second day they said that this was a good thing but added that they could not broach the matter with the Chinese Government because the Chinese Government regarded this matter entirely their own concern. PM, however, continued to press them and on the third day they agreed to mention the matter to the Chinese.<sup>14</sup>

The conciliatory shift in the policy of the Soviet Union was being interpreted in the United States as a sign of internal weakness in the USSR. It was believed that the United States' policy of peace through strength seemed to be now

13. Dag Hammarskjold visited Beijing in the first week of January 1955, following a resolution of 10 December 1954 of the UN General Assembly, which directed him to negotiate the release of US prisoners in China. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 215-217.

14. See *ante*, p. 231.

bearing fruit.<sup>15</sup> West Germany was also inclined to this view.<sup>16</sup> The Prime Minister, however, thought that this was a wrong approach. During his recent visit he found no sign of internal weakness in the Soviet Union, and the present Soviet Government was as strong and stable as any other in the world. The USSR was carrying a heavy load by agreeing to help China in its policy of industrialisation. It was disclosed to the Prime Minister in Moscow that the USSR had agreed to assist the Chinese to set up 400 major plants in China. The Soviet invitation to Dr Adenauer to visit Moscow could be interpreted to mean that the USSR recognised the existence of both the German Governments.

The Prime Minister giving a broad survey of India's foreign policy stated that we had reached a stage of having developed an Indian approach towards world problems. With the object of maintaining and developing this Indian approach, the Prime Minister observed the necessity of keeping strictly away from any of the blocs. He said that it was objectionable to use phrases like the "iron curtain", "free world", "satellite countries" etc., because by using such phrases we imply our acceptance of a certain ideology.<sup>17</sup> The Prime Minister also mentioned that there was danger in any ambassador remaining in one country for too long a period of time because he was then likely to be influenced by the way of thinking of that country. The broad concept of rivalry between USSR and USA, and the new relationship between USSR and China must be kept in view. One must get out of the narrow concept of looking at things from the point of view of the country to which one is accredited. Things must be seen and judged in their larger context. The world must be seen as a whole, bearing, of course, in mind the Indian point of view.

The Prime Minister stated that, viewed in the perspective of history, the Russian Revolution of 1917 might be regarded as an eruption of various forces. Some of these forces had been to the good and others bad but it was a mistake to condemn the whole of the Russian Revolution outright. Such a condemnation only brought a complete acceptance of the good and the bad by the other party. This was the greatest mistake made in regard to the USSR which created certain complexes and suspicions in the minds of the Soviet leaders which persisted to this day. Fears and suspicion of hostility engendered in the early

15. The policy of "peace through strength", originally propounded by Churchill for the Western Bloc Powers, meant securing peace through aggressive superiority in terms of military and economic powers. At Bandung, criticising this policy, Nehru had said that this had resulted in "underlining strength not peace."
16. On 27 May, in a statement to the Bundestag, Adenauer had called upon the US to take positive action during the Summit Conference to save the world from "complete destruction". He reiterated the need for strengthening the NATO during his meetings with Dulles and Eisenhower at New York on 13 and 14 June 1955.
17. Speaking in a similar vein on 3 June, prior to his visit to the USSR, Nehru had said that the greatest iron curtain was the one in people's minds, which like a wall prevented them from looking at the world as it were.



days of the Revolution by the condemnation of the Soviet Union still dominated the minds of Soviet leaders and conditioned their policies. In this connection the Prime Minister recalled a very apt remark made by Ernest Bevin in 1950,<sup>18</sup> namely that they should not commit the same mistake in regard to the Chinese Revolution.

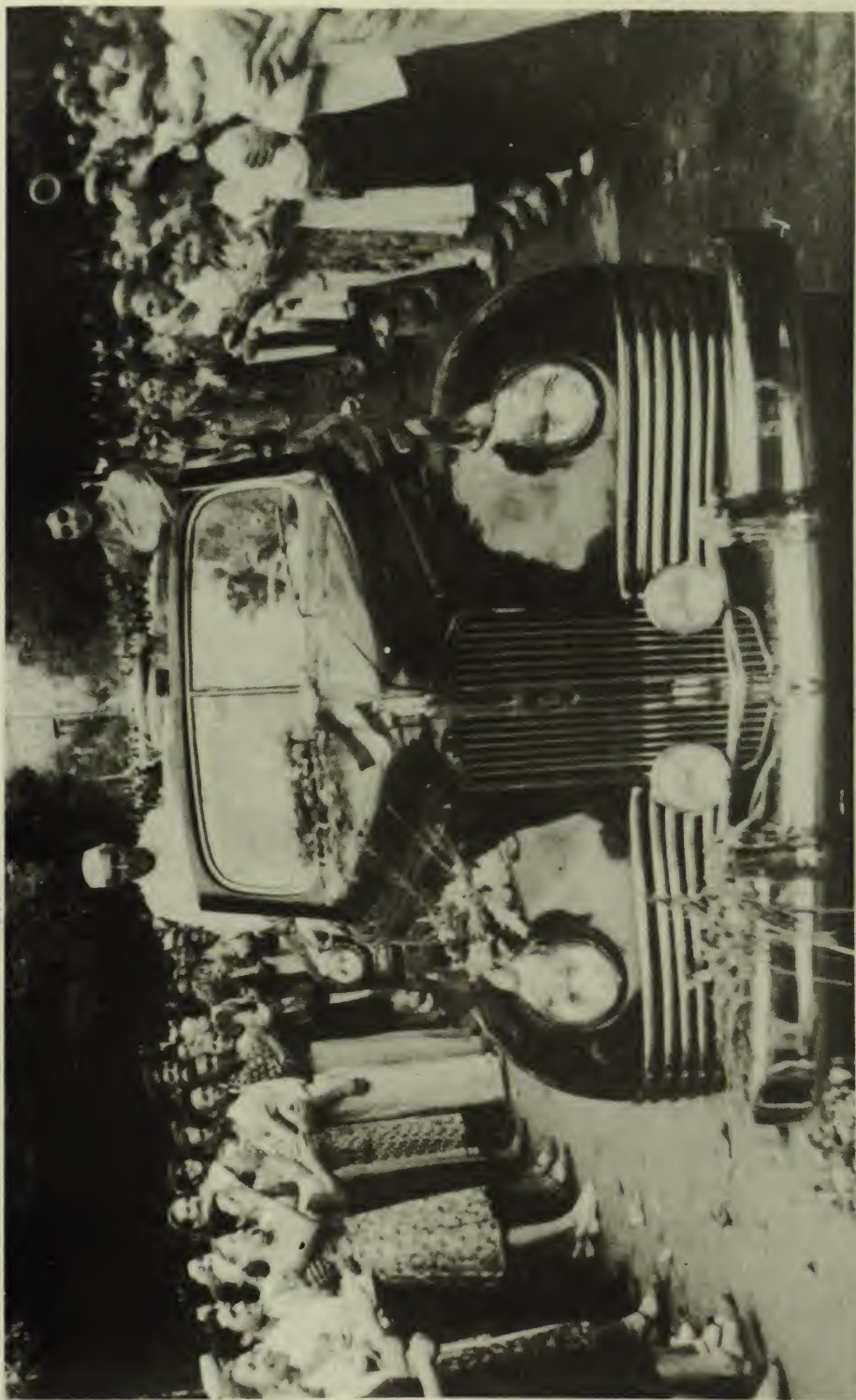
Due to civil war and other initial difficulties, the Soviet Union did not start functioning properly till 1928. Proper reconstruction and development began with their Five Year Plans. The USSR did not appear to be a danger to the world till after World War II when its strength came to be known. It is not a question of liking the Russian Revolution or disliking it; but one should endeavour to see the good and bad separately. The Russian Revolution was a culmination of a hundred years' of political thinking in Europe. The last twenty to thirty years have disproved some of the major theories of Marx by phenomena such as Nazism, and the productive capacity of the United States.

China was a country which had seen war or civil war for the last forty years; and the communists came to occupy a vacant place and what happened was a natural culmination of past events. In Indo-China there had been for the past thousand years a fight by the local population against Chinese domination. However, at present the Indo-Chinese had been driven into the arms of the Chinese because of the follies of French and American policies. The strong nationalist movement in Indo-China was controlled by the communists, and communism had proved to be the only liberating force. In Asia one witnessed a complete upsurge where the desire to be free was so great that the people were prepared to adopt any liberating force even though it be communist controlled.

Burma had seen since independence, first the Karen Revolution, and then a communist rebellion. The Burmese Government had been able to defeat the communist rebellion in the military field only after tackling vigorously the political and economic problems on which communist ideas were fed.

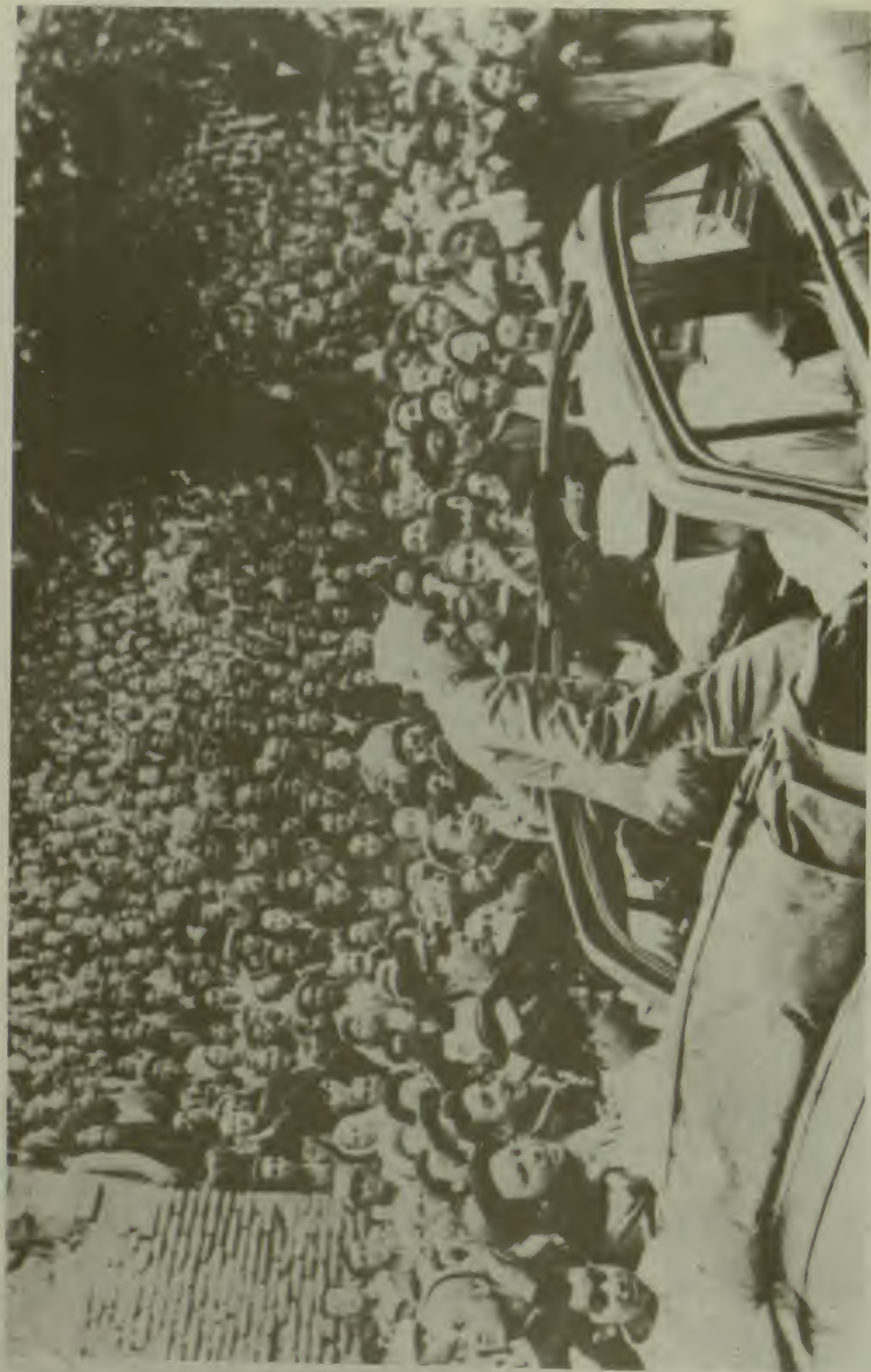
The conclusion is that it is not possible to interpret certain phenomena in Asia in terms of the usual communist-anti-communist conflict. As regards the future of communism, if there is no war, the economic structure established by communism will continue, whatever it may cost in suffering and strain for the people of a particular country. Industrialisation in communist countries is being justified on the basis of increasing the defensive capacity of these countries. That is said to be the justification for what the people have undergone. The major test of communism came during World War II. We know that the Soviet Union had followed a policy of intense industrialisation at a terrific cost. However, Russia would have been defeated in the War but for this industrialisation. At the present time industrial production in the USSR could compare favourably with that of other countries. The standard of life was rising, though at a slow pace

18. Ernest Bevin was the British Foreign Secretary in 1950.



DRIVING THROUGH THE STREETS WITH INDIRA GANDHI.  
TASHKENT, 14 JUNE 1955





WELCOME IN SAMARKAND. 15 JUNE 1955



WITH BULGANIN, MOSCOW, 21 JUNE 1955





AT THE CONCENTRATION CAMP, AUSCHWITZ,  
POLAND, 25 JUNE 1955

only because of the heavy cost of armaments and the work of industrialisation in China and the Eastern Democracies undertaken by the USSR.

There was a belief in the Soviet circles that they would need twenty to twenty-five years to be able to establish communism. One fact should always be kept in mind when studying conditions and policies of the Soviet Union. The new generation was entirely conditioned by the communist system since the revolution there was now thirty-eight years old. The new generation therefore, thought all other economic systems to be faulty. The Prime Minister here pointed out the great care bestowed on children by the Soviet Government which impressed him considerably. Their welfare is number one priority, where the provision of schools by Pioneer Palaces are concerned. Some magnificent buildings have been set aside as Pioneer Palaces where every kind of hobby is provided for. Every year five million children go to rest homes in the mountains or by the sea-side for a month. The workers also receive due care and one saw all over the country special rest houses, sanatoria etc., for them.

Looking at communism in Russia from a political angle, one had no basis of comparison, because before 1917 Revolution there was no political freedom in the country. The position, however, is different in Czechoslovakia. They had freedom before but are differently situated now. Economically also they were highly advanced but now while they have the necessary purchasing power, they do not know how and what to spend it on.

Regarding the Chinese Revolution, the Prime Minister was of the view that it would have been considerably toned down if the Chinese People's Government had been recognised by the major powers. If there had been a flow of ideas from outside it was possible that there would have been more political freedom inside China today. In regard to the idea of a third world war the Prime Minister quoted the words of Einstein that "the war after the next one would have to be fought with bows and arrows". Any idea of a third world war was fantastic because it would mean complete destruction and the end of the European civilisation at least. As a matter of fact a stage had been reached where it was not possible for either party to destroy the political system of the other. The only way, therefore, was coexistence.

In the present international situation the USSR had political initiative over the Americans. The Soviet leaders were a queer mixture of hard realism and emotionalism. In their country the machine had been harnessed to the service of the State. On the other hand, the Americans had become servants of the machine completely. They were emotional in their approach to world problems and they lacked understanding of mass psychology. The USSR understood mass psychology better and had come to appreciate the ferment in Asia. The initiative, therefore, had come into the hands of the Soviet leaders and American politicians were hard put to meet approaches from their opponents. As an example the Prime Minister stated that on the question of disarmament the USSR had lately



put forward the very proposals which had earlier been advocated by the western powers. The USA basically did not like the idea of disarmament at the present moment but could not say so openly.

Basically America wishes to continue the cold war and maintain international tension. They, of course, do not want war. The Americans are wrong in their assessment of the internal situation in USSR because there is no Government which is stronger and more stable in the world and the Americans are completely wrong in thinking that Soviet policies arise out of their internal weakness. Similar views held good for the Government of the Chinese People's Republic. We had thus arrived at a situation where Russia with the initiative in her hands was playing political ju-jutsu with the Americans and beating them at it.

The Prime Minister mentioned criticism from various quarters regarding the acceptance of the Five Principles by Chou En-lai. Doubts were expressed if China was sincere. But the fact of their acceptance would make it difficult for China to go against them. The Prime Minister personally had faith in the sincerity of the Chinese leaders.

PM deliberately did not mention the Cominform to the Soviet leaders and nor did they do so. It would be a foolish and a crude way to ask them to abolish it. PM dealt with it indirectly in that the acceptance of the Five Principles destroys the Cominform.<sup>19</sup> If the Cominform were to work, it would be a breach of the Five Principles.

Speaking about communism in India, the Prime Minister observed that the communists were not making much headway because of the success of the foreign policy of India and the success of the various schemes for betterment under the Five Year Plan. Our foreign policy has helped us internally as well in that it has completely confused the Communist Party of India. In view of the appreciation shown by the Soviet leaders of our foreign policy, Indian communists find it difficult to criticise the Government. The stature India has gained abroad has given the common man a certain pride in India. CPI, therefore, finds it difficult to undermine the reliance the common man places in Government.

Speaking about India's place in the Commonwealth, the Prime Minister observed that this link was of our own choice and terminable at any time. It had been on the whole for the good of India because (a) in the early days of independence it helped us to buy things, specially armaments which were difficult to obtain elsewhere; (b) India could exercise more influence on world affairs by being inside the Commonwealth than outside it. There were certain countries, especially the USA, which we could not influence directly but which

19. Communist Information Bureau, created in 1947 to spearhead communist (Soviet) propaganda and coordinate the activities and policies of communist parties working in other countries was disbanded in 1956. At Bandung, Nehru had said that "the functioning of Cominform was not compatible with the principle of non-interference."

could be influenced indirectly through our relationship with other Commonwealth countries, specially Canada and the UK; (c) the relationship of the countries in the Commonwealth was of a free type in that it gave us complete independence and did not tie our hands as would be the case if we concluded a formal alliance with other countries.

There were certain objections to India's continuance in the Commonwealth mainly because of sentimental reasons from certain quarters or because some people suspected that the very fact of our relationship with the Commonwealth implied domination by the UK.

The Prime Minister expressed the view that our ambassadors in their relations with other Commonwealth Ambassadors should not show any preference or distinction. Our general behaviour with Commonwealth Ambassadors should not give an impression that we belong to a particular group. If in certain capitals there were functions or meetings of Commonwealth Ambassadors, there was no objection to Indian Ambassadors taking part in them, but at the same time the latter should also try to arrange meetings of the Heads of Missions of Asia or Bandung powers etc.

Referring to the situation in Africa in general and Kenya in particular, the Prime Minister observed that he felt most unhappy over the shape of events in that continent. While he had strong feelings in the matter, he was unable to give vent to them in public due to political reasons. The British Government were extremely touchy about criticism of their policy in Kenya. The Prime Minister had, however, mentioned this feelings in private to British leaders about this matter. In the opinion of the Prime Minister, there was nothing more horrible and detestable than what the British were doing to the whole population of Kenya whatever be the provocation.<sup>20</sup>

The Prime Minister mentioned the fine work done by Shri Apa B. Pant during his tenure of office in Kenya. He went about in a big way in making contacts with the local African leaders. This was not liked by the colonial officials in central Africa with the result that he was declared to be more or less a persona non grata, although no official action was taken in this direction by the British Government.<sup>21</sup> The Prime Minister also mentioned the narrow

20. The British Government's policy of repressing the nascent nationalist movement in Kenya and the violent Mau Mau upsurge had been widely condemned. The Government's attempts at constitutional reforms with some semblance of popular participation had met with little success.

21. The British Colonial Office alleged that Apa Pant, the Indian Commissioner to East Africa and his Deputy, M.A. Rahman were advising Africans against Central African Federation; actively supporting the Kenya African Union; having contacts with Mau Mau leaders, and were financing and organising an African newspaper and a political party. On the Colonial Office's representation, the Government of India recalled Rahman in 1953 and Pant in early 1954.



attitude taken by British Colonial Service in general towards Indian representatives in other territories also. For example, Shri B.N. Nanda in Trinidad had come in the bad books of the Colonial Office and some vague charges were being levelled against him.<sup>22</sup>

Africans in general looked up to India for aid. Every effort was being made by the Government to provide higher educational facilities to Africans through the grant of scholarships etc.

The white population in Africa generally spoke of imperialist designs of India on that continent. It was a pity that the colonial powers were increasingly taking South Africa as their model in their policies towards the racial question.

The situation in Goa was tense and public opinion in India had been considerably roused in this matter. Batches of *satyagrahis* belonging to the Praja Socialist Party, Jana Sangh, etc. had been crossing the border from time to time.<sup>23</sup> The object of this movement was to create a situation inside India which would force the Government of India to intervene in the matter. As far as the Government was concerned all economic measures had already been taken which had considerably hit Goa.<sup>24</sup> As for police or military action, this would create difficulties and would also be in conflict with the principles of India's international policy. The question now was of the people in Goa itself becoming sufficiently roused and active so as to force the hands of the Portuguese Government. In our relations with Portugal we were on the verge of breaking off diplomatic relations with that country. This step may eventually have to be taken, if we received some major rebuff from Portugal.

On being asked if the Vatican could not be requested to intervene with the Portuguese Government on the question of Goa, the Prime Minister pointed out that the Vatican had a long tradition of diplomacy and they could not be expected to condemn a Catholic country.

The policy of the Government in regard to foreign possessions in India had been to solve the question of French Settlements first<sup>25</sup> and then to tackle Goa. It had been hoped that the example of peaceful evacuation by France would also lead to a similar solution of the Goa question.

Speaking about the internal situation of Kashmir the Prime Minister

22. The British Colonial Office had alleged that Nanda had been working with some of the "less desirable Indian politicians" and concocting plans for the organisation of a new political party of Trinidad Indians opposed to Federation. His case was mentioned to Krishna Menon in March 1955, who arranged for Nanda's early recall.

23. See *post*, p.395.

24. These measures included restriction on money transfer, stricter control over import of essential goods, certain export restrictions, ban on import of Indian labour and refusal of port facilities to Portuguese ships. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 223-224.

25. See *ante*, p. 9.

observed that there had been considerable progress during the last one and a half years. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad had proved to be an efficient organiser who was very popular among the people. The internal picture which Kashmir presented today was one of general economic contentment. This had been brought about mainly due to effective work done by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. Other contributory factors were the large financial aid from India and good harvests registered recently. The general economic situation of Kashmir would continue to improve. The hydro-electric project near Srinagar was now about to start functioning. Moreover, the Banihal tunnel which was under construction would keep Banihal open during the winter and thus help in bringing down prices.

The picture presented by the 'Azad Kashmir' territory in Pakistan was the very opposite of that of the Valley. Economically and politically people were in a bad way in Pakistan-held territory and for some time past a petty civil war had been going on in 'Azad Kashmir'. There were arrests of leaders by the Pakistan Government and there was considerable corruption and intrigue in that area.

The negotiations with Pakistan continue with a view to find a suitable solution acceptable to both sides. The last conversations were notable in that for the first time we discussed ways other than those previously considered to deal with this question.<sup>26</sup>

Speaking on the question of acceptance of foreign aid by India the Prime Minister observed that in general there is no objection to foreign aid, provided it had no political strings attached to it. However, for economic and political reasons, it was not desirable that such foreign aid should be a very large one. Too much dependence on aid from foreign countries had a bad effect on the morale of the people; it dampened the initiative of the people. Moreover, if we were to plan on the basis of large foreign aid, there was danger of our plans being upset if such foreign aid were withdrawn at a subsequent date. Hostile criticism had often been heard from the United States as to why America should give aid to India when the latter did not whole-heartedly endorse her policies. It had been made clear to the Government of USA that while we welcomed their aid, if it were withdrawn for internal political reasons, such an action would not affect India's relations with the USA. From our side, however, we could not take the initiative in stopping the US aid from coming into India because this may be interpreted as a somewhat hostile act and worsen our relations with the US which would not be a good thing.

Recently the Soviet Union had come in the field with an offer of aid in setting up a steel plant in India. Acceptance of this aid from the Soviet Union

26. The talks were held in New Delhi from 14 to 17 May 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, pp. 246-263.



had become a political issue. We had accepted it because the terms offered by the USSR were more satisfactory than we were getting from elsewhere. During his visit to the parent steel plant in the Soviet Union which would supply machinery etc. for setting up the Indian plant in Bhilai, the authorities had assured the Prime Minister that they would do their best to help India in its industrialisation. The Prime Minister was convinced of the sincerity of the Soviet intentions, because this was the first time that the USSR had offered aid to a non-communist country and it would be their endeavour to show to the world that they were also capable of planning and executing major undertaking.

Reverting to the Five Year Plan the Prime Minister traced in brief the history of planning in India. He stated that, as far back as 1938, the Congress had appointed a National Planning Committee with the task of collecting data and material.<sup>27</sup> In August 1946, the first act of the popular government in the Centre was to appoint the Neogy Committee to collect additional material on planning.<sup>28</sup> Subsequently the question of planning was taken up again in 1949 which led to certain differences of opinion in the Central Cabinet.<sup>29</sup>

The First Five Year Plan was formulated on the basis of inadequate data. Our resources were also limited at that time and the country was faced with an acute shortage of foodstuffs. Therefore, the emphasis in the First Five Year Plan was on agriculture. The overcoming of the food crisis had now brought a sense of satisfaction and achievement in the public.

The problem of unemployment was a major issue to be faced in India today. The extent to which this problem could be solved would be the yardstick to measure the success of our planning. A question debated by our statistical experts was as to what should come first—the raising of the standard of the people or the reduction in unemployment. Figures showed that during the last three years there was an increase in the national income at the rate of three per cent per annum. This figure, however, was not considered adequate to absorb the new increase in population. The experts, therefore, were of the opinion that some difference in the standard of living could be expected if there were an increase of five per cent per annum in the national income. Professor Mahalanobis, aided by certain foreign experts, had prepared a draft of the Second Five Year Plan giving an estimate of the resources which would be necessary for the next ten years. The draft had been studied by the Economic Sections of the Ministry of Finance and the Planning Commission, who had agreed in

27. The National Planning Committee was constituted in October 1938, with Nehru as Chairman, and was dissolved in March 1949.
28. An advisory Planning Board, headed by K.C. Neogy, was appointed in October 1946, which recommended the establishment of a single compact and authoritative organisation, mainly advisory in character, for the purpose of planning in India.
29. John Matthai, the then Finance Minister, was not very enthusiastic about the formation of the Planning Commission.

principle on the matter. The Avadi session of the All India Congress Committee had laid down as an objective the realisation of a socialistic pattern of society in India.

Industry in India could be broadly divided into two parts, the public sector and the private sector. The ownership of certain major heavy industries must lie in the State which alone should invest capital in the public sector. There was, however, a large field left open for the private sector to function. But even in the private sector some control by the State was necessary so as to direct investment into productive channels. For example, the State must ensure that essential items were given priority over the manufacture of luxury items.

The Government as a machine suffered from various handicaps in the management of state industries due to the peculiarities of Government procedure of checks etc. To overcome this difficulty various autonomous corporations had been set up to run important Government projects in India. The question as to how a Government should manage State enterprises was an important one which merits study. The Prime Minister observed that it would be interesting to study in what way the Soviet Government tackled this question.

The Second Five Year Plan started with the assumption that heavy industry was the foundation of economic development of a country. Heavy industry, however, consumed large sums of money and at the same time employed relatively fewer people. Therefore, on a short-term basis it was no solution to the unemployment problem. Further, no consumer goods as such were produced by heavy industry. To redress the imbalance the Government wanted to go in a big way in developing cottage and village industries. With this end in view the revolutionary scheme of Community Development Projects had been launched all over India which had impressed all foreign observers.

The country's life now revolves around the Five Year Plans. It also affects our foreign policy and an integrated view of the two should be taken. People in India have become Plan-conscious and discuss social and economic problems rather than political.

This is a sign of maturity. Take, for example, the removal of Malenkov<sup>30</sup> in the Soviet Union. The reason for his removal was the poor response from the West to his foreign policy, but more important still was the issue of heavy and light industry. In the field of foreign affairs, we, of course, are generally interested in the international situation and particularly the issue of war and peace. Specific problems which interest us are the following:

30. Georgy Maksimilianovich Malenkov (1902-88); Stalin's designated successor and Soviet Premier, 1953-55; ousted from Party Secretary's post within two weeks of Stalin's death by Khrushchev; resigned from premiership on 8 February 1955 when the Supreme Soviet reversed his proposal for a 12% defence budget cut; expelled from CPSU Presidium in 1957 and from the Party in 1961. He was succeeded by Bulganin.



- a) Pakistan: the feeling in both countries is now devoid of hostility because there is no basic conflict, though incidents could be used to whip up hostility,
- b) Ceylon,
- c) Portugal,
- d) South Africa.

These problems worry one but in the larger context they are not terribly important and will get solved in due course.

Emphasis on the Five Year Plan makes a difference to our contacts in foreign countries. There is no reason why we should not make purchases abroad on as wide a basis as possible. Our concentration is on heavy industry and particularly machine-building as was done by the Japanese. Our negotiations with the USSR for a steel plant raised a controversy which assumed a political complexion. It is not a question of our liking or disliking communism; the matter must be considered on practical grounds.

Speaking about the question of languages the Prime Minister observed that it was a great handicap for many of our people not to be conversant with our own language. Hindi was being increasingly brought into use and it was important that everybody should have a working knowledge of it. Steps were being taken that in future all our formal documents like credentials etc. will be addressed in Hindi. This was desirable from the point of view of national prestige. Other countries like China had already adopted this practice. The Prime Minister stated that the Missions should organise classes in Hindi for their personnel who were not conversant with the national language.

In regard to foreign languages the Prime Minister observed that from the Indian point of view it was becoming increasingly important for our people to learn Russian and Chinese. While it was good that people in the foreign service had knowledge of French, German, Spanish etc., it was necessary to lay emphasis on the study of Russian and Chinese.... The Prime Minister said that the Missions abroad should organise classes in foreign languages and Government should bear the expenses in this regard.<sup>31</sup>

One of our principal problems is the reorganisation of States. It will create difficulties. There are, for example, proposals for the disintegration of Hyderabad. Such proposals and other proposals to split up various States come in the way of planning because the people do not know what to plan for. Certain State Governments encourage such proposals. The general elections are expected to be held at the end of 1956 and it is yet to be determined as to

31. H.S. Malik, Indian Ambassador to France, had said that the Foreign Service staff made no attempt to learn foreign languages, probably because of their inability to meet the expenses in this regard. He proposed that the Government should consider bearing expenses in this regard.

whether reorganisation should be done before or after the elections. If the reorganisation is to take place after the elections, then these proposals would figure principally in the election campaign.

There is also the problem of the North East Frontier. The Assam Government have alienated the hill tribes. The Nagas, for example, want independence and demand a separate State. There are also labour problems in India. In PM's view the strike in Kanpur against rationalisation was improper.<sup>32</sup> A new concern must have the highest technique though, of course, when an old factory is being rationalised, alternative employment for those rendered surplus should be assured. On the whole our industrial relations have not been bad.

Our intelligence services have to watch communist activity, though from outside there has been very little. In fact the Indian communists have been told privately not to embarrass our Government. The publicly expressed appreciation of the Indian Government is another way of making it difficult for the Communist Party of India to embarrass the Government. The United States are carrying on their espionage and secret service activities. They have also been buying up newspapers and spreading a network of publicity organisations in regard to which we have had to take restrictive action.<sup>33</sup> We have told them that they would now be permitted to have Information Offices only where they have Consular Offices. We are more concerned with what the Americans are trying to do than the others.

A side-light on the activities of American intelligence could be had from the fact that visiting American professors and even students coming out to India were briefed by the State Department and they had to submit a report to the American Government on their return about conditions in India.

...The Prime Minister requested the Ambassadors to make out a list of qualified Indians who had failed to secure suitable employment in India and to send this list to the Ministry of External Affairs so that necessary action may be taken in the matter.<sup>34</sup>

Pacts generally create a hostile atmosphere. Also in war-time they invite attack on that country because it is considered a hostile area. There is no guarantee, of course, but a neutral country has lesser chances of being attacked. SEATO has made China apprehensive and consequently defiant. It is, therefore, desirable to avoid formal organisations. If PM were to meet Tito or U Nu on a formal or organised basis, then other countries would become suspicious and they in turn would start having political and military talks. If the West had gone slow against China, it would have slowed down the Revolution.

32. See *ante*, p. 23.

33. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, p. 282.

34. Many Ambassadors raised the issue that Indian students studying in foreign countries were unable to secure suitable jobs in India or invariably received very low salaries, which discouraged them from coming back to India.



## 11. What India Stands For<sup>1</sup>

Mr President and members of the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

I appreciate deeply the privilege of addressing this distinguished Assembly, and I thank you for your cordial welcome and for the generous sentiments that you have expressed. I have had full evidence, since I came to Yugoslavia two days ago, of the friendship and hospitality of the Government and people of this country and their regard for my country, but I value particularly this welcome by your Assembly, representative of the people of this country.

India, as you know, is also a federation of a large number of autonomous States. Not only have we a federal Parliament, but each State has its own elected assembly with large powers laid down by our Constitution. We have adopted in India what is called the parliamentary system of government, and we find that this suits the conditions in India and is understood by our people. Your political and economic structures are somewhat different and have arisen from the historical setting and special conditions of this country. Nevertheless, as you have been good enough to say, there is a great deal in common between our two countries. It was, therefore, natural for us to be drawn together to tread this common path in cooperation with each other.

The visit to India of your distinguished President<sup>2</sup> whom we are proud to call our friend, brought a new awakening to both our countries and a new understanding of each other. That has been indeed a happy development, beneficial to our two countries as well as to the world at large. Out of the seed that was then sown, a flourishing tree has grown, casting its soothing shadow over a wide area.

You have referred, Sir, to the principles which were embodied in our joint declaration.<sup>3</sup> Those principles now are not only part of world history but also form the texture of current events, influencing the thinking and the activities of many nations. They expressed, as you have said, the fundamental striving of all nations and the need of the world for peace, for the security of our civilisation and for the opportunity to humanity to progress peacefully and take advantage of the achievements of science.

1. Speech at the joint meeting of both Chambers of the Federal People's Assembly of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, 2 July 1955. File No. 10, JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.
2. Tito visited India from 16 December 1954 to 3 January 1955.
3. India and Yugoslavia in a joint declaration on 23 December 1954 had stated that *Panch Shila* should be the governing principle in their bilateral and international relations.

That declaration and the principles it embodied were evidence of our common aims and similar thinking, but behind them lay, as subsequent events have shown, a deeper and more intimate understanding of each other which I value greatly and which I think can be of some service to mankind.

You have rightly pointed out that the idea of peaceful coexistence is neither neutrality nor the attempt to build up some kind of a third bloc of nations, nor is it a passive approach to the problems of today. It is an active and a dynamic approach, and it means ceaseless endeavour for all those who believe in it.

It is generally recognised today that there has been a turn for the better in world affairs. At long last, we see some elements of hope on the horizon, which promise to dispel the dark clouds that have bedevilled international relations for so many years. But the clouds still remain and dangers surround us, and it will require all the wit and wisdom of the nations of the world to dispel them fully so that the bright sun of freedom might shine and give light and warmth to every country and every people.

For thousand of years, man has been engaged in a great adventure. He has seen many ups and downs but, nevertheless, he has built up great civilisations and, what is even more important, certain standards and values of human conduct which are the essence of civilisation. He has taken advantage of science and technology to unveil the secrets of nature and thus increase his own strength and power. That power has been used for the advancement and progress of humanity. Unfortunately, it has also been used for evil purposes and for destruction. Power is a dangerous companion, and sometimes it tends to ignore and suppress the very values for which man has struggled through the ages.

Today, we are on the threshold of what has been called the atomic age. Great advances in physics and other sciences have changed our conceptions of the physical world we live in and given us some glimpses of the vastness of time and space and their inter-relations to each other. This progress of science has brought new visions and new ideas and is gradually changing the way men think of the world and even of themselves. Science has also released atomic energy, a mighty force which may bring untold happiness to humanity or unimaginable misery and destruction. Thus, we stand not only on the threshold of great happiness but also are faced by a tremendous choice. Which way do we go, what choice do we make at this critical juncture in the history of man?

While science has done all this and may do much more, it is extraordinary that man's thinking has not kept pace with it and man's eyes are still blind to the visions that are being unfolded. Most of us still function in the old ruts and think along grooves, which have little relation to the facts of life today. Some even think of the possibility of war in this atomic age, a war which will certainly bring ruin to all and destroy civilisation and its values, which have been built up through the struggle of ages. If that is to be the ultimate fate of humanity,



then surely it matters little what ideologies are pursued, what objectives we may have, for the end will be the same and it will be a common ruin.

Therefore, the first thing to be clear about is that in the modern age, war is out of question. It is a relic of a barbarous past which has no meaning today for intelligent human beings.

If war and the way of violence are ruled out, then the only other way is that of peaceful coexistence between nations and an attempt to solve our problems peacefully and by negotiation. Can we do this? Are the difficult world problems of today capable of such treatment? How can we get rid of the fears and suspicions, the hatred and the lack of security that many nations feel, which have led to colossal armaments?

These are difficult questions, and I have no easy remedy to suggest. We have always thought of them with a certain humility of spirit and endeavoured to do our utmost to serve the cause of peace, cooperation, the betterment of human relations and the progress of humanity. I cannot presume to advise other countries because I know that conditions differ and national backgrounds are not the same. All I can venture is to put before you such thoughts as I have for my own country.

I believe ardently in the freedom and independence of my own country as well as that of others. I believe in the freedom of the individual and in the democratic system of working. I think that the suppression of a nation is an evil thing and prevents its growth. Each nation and each and every people must find their soul and function according to their genius. They may be helped in this process by the cooperation of other countries, but essentially they must rely upon themselves and any imposition from outside suppresses that soul of the nation and stunts its growth. Sometimes, the nation finds its soul in a struggle for its freedom, at other times in constructive and creative endeavour to build itself up. Yugoslavia faced many heavy trials and tribulations during the last World War but, in the very resistance it offered to that brutal invasion, she found her soul.

It is my belief that evil has to be opposed and must not be willingly tolerated, but that evil cannot be opposed by a greater evil, nor can violence or hatred be overcome by greater violence and hatred. Nearly two thousand years ago, it was said by a very great man that those who take to the sword shall perish by the sword.<sup>4</sup> We have seen that happening in actual practice during these last two Great Wars. In India, the symbols of our long past have not been great military commanders, but men like the Buddha and, in our own times, Gandhi, both messengers of goodwill and peace.

There is much talk of peace, and the word is often used as a slogan. There is danger that even good words and good ideas might lose their value by wrong

4. The Bible: Mathew.

use. Peace should be peaceful. It should not shout or use the language of threat or condemnation. None of us is free from blame, and it does not help much to condemn and criticise, even though something is worthy of condemnation or criticism. Peace should speak in a gentle voice and with understanding.

We often hear of the iron curtain.<sup>5</sup> I think there is some truth in this, but the greatest iron curtain of all is the one we put around our own minds. Indeed, many a wall is put up around our minds, which prevents us from looking at the world as it is. How, then, are we to understand the world or solve its problems? Even though these mental walls are insubstantial, they are solid enough to prevent any possible entry of a new idea. Because they are insubstantial, it is even more difficult to deal with them than if they were of brick and stone. It may not be easy to demolish them. Let us at least open some windows in them which will bring some fresh air and light from outside and enable us to have a look at the outside world.

I come from Asia, a continent which has long been in travail and which is today resurgent and dynamic. Yet, many people in other continents do not fully realise this fact and continue to think more or less in the old way. There is the unhappy continent of Africa, which is also in a state of deep ferment. The peoples of this continent have suffered untold agony during past centuries and their agony continues even today. Can we solve the problems of the world by ignoring the wisdom of the peoples of Asia and Africa? It is obvious that this cannot be done, and yet attempts are continually being made to do so.

The major problems before the great statesmen of the world today are those of the Far East, Germany and disarmament. Undoubtedly, these problems are of vital importance. But, even here, one sees how many people refuse to face the most obvious facts. There is the great country of China which is denied admittance in the United Nations. Anything more absurd than this seems to me difficult to imagine.

The world has infinite variety, and it is as well that it has this variety which gives richness and charm to it. So, I believe, truth, reality and beauty have infinite variety. We may see some aspects of these but that is only a part of the whole. It may be that someone else sees another aspect of them which is equally true. We must, therefore, learn to be tolerant of others and not seek to impose ourselves upon them. At the same time, the world has grown too narrow for any nation to live a life apart. There has to be intimate cooperation.

We have decided in India to build up a socialist pattern of society. I cannot say exactly what shape this will take. It will have to grow according to objective

5. The term was brought into usage by Winston Churchill in a speech in March 1946 in Fulton, where he said: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended upon the Continent".



reality and the needs of the people. It need not be exactly the same as elsewhere but, in any event, it should do away with vested interests, privilege and inequality, and bring freedom, access to knowledge and opportunity to all. It should naturally take full advantage of the power that science and technology give, but at the same time it should retain the creative spirit and the great values of civilisation, the belief in truth and beauty, tolerance and gentleness.

Wherever I travel, I see eager bright-faced children, and boys and girls and youths, full of hope, on the threshold of the adventure of life. For us, of our generation, they are a great trust. What future are we going to give them? Are they doomed to perish in war and its terrible consequences, or can we assure them a life of peace and happiness, of creative activity, of contributing further to the progress of humanity and the great adventure of man?

I earnestly trust that the statesmen of the great nations who shoulder so much responsibility today will give a right answer to this question.

I thank you again, Sir, for your welcome.

## 12. Desire for Peace<sup>1</sup>

Mr Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup> Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On my own behalf and on behalf of my daughter and my colleagues, I should like to express my gratitude to Your Excellency and to the Italian Government for their welcome and hospitality to us. I share with you the regret that my stay in this famous city is so brief. Although I have visited Rome on some occasions previously, many years ago,<sup>3</sup> the fascination of Rome as well as of this land of Italy is ever with us and attracts us. Unfortunately, the work we have undertaken in India is so heavy that it is not always easy to leave my own country.

But I do hope that I shall have further opportunities to visit the great cities of this ancient land where so much history has been made in the past and

1. Speech at a state banquet hosted by Antonio Segni, Prime Minister of Italy, Rome, 7 July 1955. File No. 10, JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. (Original in Hindi).
2. Antonio Segni (1891-1972); Italian university professor and politician; Minister of Public Instruction, 1951-54; Prime Minister, 1955-57; Deputy PM and Minister of Defence, July 1958-January 1959; PM and Minister of Interior, February 1959-February 1960; Minister of Foreign Affairs, March 1960-62; President of the Italian Republic, 1962-64; Senator for life from 1964.
3. In March 1936, Nehru on his way back to India from Europe visited Rome.

which has been a home of art and culture for centuries. Rome is a modern progressive city, and yet, because of its history and tradition, there is a certain timelessness about it. And it is always a pleasure to come here.

Your Excellency has been good enough to refer to the work we have been doing in India. Ever since we attained our independence, we have devoted ourselves to building up our country in every way and to raise standards of our people which have been deplorably low. In this task, we have attained a small measure of success already. We intend to persevere it with all our strength and energy.

We are thus concerned most of all in the constructive building up of our nation and at the same time to develop friendly relations with other nations. Indeed, there can be little success in the building up of any nation if its activities are directed towards conflict. Because of this, we have been specially concerned, in common with all other countries, with the maintenance of peace in the world. If this peace is broken, then the energy of the world will be directed again towards destruction instead of construction and cooperation. War, as we have seen, and as your own country has experienced, is a horrible affair but, whatever it was in the past, new developments in science and technology and their use for the purposes of warfare, have made war infinitely more disastrous. It is for this reason that all thinking men and women today are of opinion that war is out of the question and should be ruled out.

The lesson of the past is that wars and methods of violence do not settle problems but only add to them, apart from the misery they cause. In the context of today, that lesson has got a far greater significance.

Your Excellency has referred to the cultural and spiritual heritage of past generations. I am in entire agreement with you that we should maintain this cultural and spiritual heritage and not allow it to perish because of technical progress, and yet technical progress has also become essential both to maintain our independence and to bring happiness to our people. We have thus to combine scientific and technical progress today with the maintenance of cultural and spiritual values.

Your Excellency has referred to the democratic liberties which your Constitution has laid down. India values democracy and has enshrined its principles in her Constitution. We intend fully to abide by the democratic processes in our political life and to combine with them and indeed to advance the cause of democracy by bringing within its fold economic life of the country also. Democracy will then be complete, bringing freedom and equal opportunities to all, without vested interest or privilege coming in the way of the progress of the country or of any section of the people.

Your Excellency has referred to your country's association with the Atlantic Alliance. That is a matter entirely for your country's judgement and decision. Each country has to find its own way and to function according to its own



genius. We in India have decided to keep aloof from military alliances and to seek friendship with all countries, believing as we do that peace and security can best be guaranteed in that way. Your Excellency has no doubt heard of the Five Principles which lay down a code of international conduct and behaviour. I believe firmly that if these principles were followed by all nations, peace and security would be guaranteed to all of them and the fear of war will fade away.

So long as this threat of war overshadows the world, there will be fear and hatred in the minds of men, and out of fear and hatred nothing good can emerge. It is only through the approach of peace and friendliness and cooperation that peace and security can be maintained.

I know that Italy like other countries is anxious to ensure peace and security to enable her to develop still further her great cultural heritage and to advance on economic lines. In that great task, India will gladly cooperate with Italy. I believe there are many opportunities open to us for cooperation in the cultural and economic fields. As you have yourself stated, there is today a commercial agreement between our two countries. You can rest assured that we shall gladly further this cooperation to the advantage of both our countries.

I thank you again, Mr Prime Minister, for your welcome and your kind sentiments and I request you, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the health of the President<sup>1</sup> of the Italian Republic and the Prime Minister of this country as well as the prosperity of Italy.

4. Giovanni Gronchi.

### 13. Impressions: Tour of USSR and Other Countries-I<sup>1</sup>

I find some difficulty in writing this note about my recent tour. This is not for lack of material but rather because of the very abundance of the impressions that I have gathered. These impressions are naturally rather mixed up, because they succeeded each other in rapid succession. Also, it would not be right for me to come to definite conclusions about the policies or the conditions prevailing in the countries I visited after a rush tour.

1. Note, 19 July, 1955. *The Prime Minister's Visit to the Soviet Union and Other Countries (June-July 1955)*, File No. 1(3)/R&I/59. MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. All I can do is to put down the impressions I gathered during this visit. Those impressions, of course, have some considerable value for me and, I believe, for others. I have a fairly wide acquaintance with foreign countries, and there are certain standards by which we can compare. Also, I have some knowledge of the historical, political and economic backgrounds of these countries during the past forty years or more.

3. There is always a danger in a person being affected one way or the other by seeing, what might be called, one side of the picture. He may see the bright spots and become enthusiastic. He might on the other hand, only see some of the darker aspects and then condemn the whole. Both, obviously, would not present a correct picture. I have been asked by journalists about the "iron curtain". I might be asked (though no one has put this question to me thus far) about "slave labour" or "concentration camps" in the Soviet Union. We all know that during past years it has been difficult for people to enter the Soviet Union unless they are approved of by the Soviet Government. It is true that latterly there has been much relaxation of this practice, and more and more people are invited to go there and have actually visited the USSR. Even now, however, the Soviet Union is a less known country as a whole than most other countries in Europe or elsewhere. Reliable data and statistics are not easily available, and there are certain parts of the Union which might be said to be closed to outside visitors.

4. As for the so-called "slave labour" and "concentration camps", I am wholly unable to say anything from personal knowledge or even from second-hand knowledge. I have read some accounts of persons who have come away from the USSR, giving rather horrible accounts of some of these "labour camps". Those accounts might be exaggerated or might be true. I think it is more or less established that there are a considerable number of German and Japanese prisoners still in the Soviet Union. They are said to have been condemned as war criminals. Also, I think it is true that convicted prisoners in the Soviet Union are put in camps to undertake public works like digging of canals or some kind of construction. It is probable that political suspects are also put in these or similar camps and made to work. What their treatment is, I cannot say. Probably it is true that there has been very harsh treatment in the past in some cases at least.

5. It does not need any proof to say that in the Soviet Union there is no civil liberty as we know it or as the term implies. For persons who oppose the present regime publicly, there is no safety and they are likely to be punished in some way or other or detained. The political structure of the Government and administration is quite different from such as we are used to, and it is a little difficult to understand it or appreciate it because of this great difference. It is equally difficult for us to take an objective view of it because of our own habits of thought.



6. So far as the economic structure is concerned, it might be said to be a completely new experiment in human organisation. The only way to consider it objectively is to forget or set aside the coercive technique of communism and try to understand it purely as an economic system. But in order to have some real understanding of the background in the Soviet Union, two facts have to be borne in mind. One is obviously the historical background of that vast area: the autocratic regime before the Revolution, the complete lack of civil liberty then, the backwardness of the country and more especially of the agricultural classes, the continuation of the serfdom till a period almost in living memory. Conditions of course in the past differed greatly in various parts of the USSR. In Central Asian parts of it, there was even greater backwardness. It was out of this past that the Soviet Union emerged.

7. The second very important fact to remember is that, ever since the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917, the leaders and the people of the Soviet Union have had the sensation of being surrounded by danger and by hostile forces. During this period, they have passed through two major wars, a civil war and intervention by foreign powers, apart from internal problems and difficulties. The first ten years were a period of World War I, civil war and intervention. The Soviet Union was in some ways at the lowest ebb in the middle twenties. Then started a period of building up, the Five Year Plans etc. By the end of the thirties came the Second World War which spread to the Soviet Union a little later and brought terrific destruction both of life and property. Much that had been built up during the previous decade was destroyed. Soon after the Second World War ended began the "cold war" with its ever impending threat of developing into world war III.

8. It is not material for us to consider in this context as to who was at fault and how far all these troubles and hostility from other countries were the result of Soviet ambition or aggressiveness. There is no doubt that there was this aggressiveness after the Second World War, but the point is that whoever might have been responsible for this "cold war", the effect on the Soviet Union was to create apprehension and a continuing sense of danger.

9. Thus, ever since the Revolution of 1917, the Soviet Union has experienced what might be called a war psychosis. We know the effects of war on a country engaged in such a war. Even highly democratic countries suppress many of their civil liberties at the time of war, and many kinds of compulsion, including military compulsion, become part of the daily routine. If, therefore, we are to understand the psychological background of the Soviet Union, not only now, but during the past thirty-eight years of its existence, we must consider it as if it was under the strain of war or fear of war, which resulted not only in affecting its policy towards other countries but also in limiting normal freedoms within the Union itself. From time to time, there have been spy scares and many people, including probably large numbers of innocent persons, have

suffered. All this, arising from fear, creates a certain psychology which throws up a particular type of person. We have had some very hard and cruel leaders in the Soviet Union, the latest admitted example being that of Beria.<sup>2</sup> All this has prevented the establishment of what might be called normal conditions. Every revolution, big or small gradually settles down. The gains of the revolution, or many of them, are retained, and excesses of the revolution fade away. The great French Revolution went through terrific excesses. It was followed by a counter-revolution and Napoleon. Later, France, while retaining many of the gains of that Revolution, became one of the most staid and conservative countries of Europe. The Soviet Union apparently never had a full chance to settle down in this way, and therefore, the return to normalcy has been delayed.

10. To refer back to the French Revolution again. The ideals of the French Revolution powerfully affected Europe for a hundred years. Nearly sixty years after that Revolution, there was what is called a Year of Revolution in Europe—1848. Those revolutions were more or less suppressed. But those ideals of the French Revolution persisted and gradually brought about, in different ways, great changes in Europe. Italy became free, a new Germany arose, and so on. Oddly enough, even while the French Revolution was taking place, it was slightly out-of-date, in the sense that it ignored a vaster revolution that was creeping across Western Europe—the Industrial Revolution. So, in the nineteenth century, the political and human ideals of the French Revolution as well as the new industrial societies being created by the Industrial Revolution began to shape Western Europe and America. Russia was outside the scope of both.

11. I have referred to this past history so that we might have a true perspective of events. Without that background knowledge we are apt to misunderstand the present and its problems. Of course, in considering other parts of the world like China or India or South East Asia or Western Asia, the backgrounds would be different and the forces at play more various and mixed. For the present, however, I am dealing with the USSR. There is a curious and a unique combination of events which brought about the success of the revolution and the application of an economic theory as well as a technique of action. That economic theory, Marxism, was largely based on a remarkable study of industrial conditions in England in the first half of the nineteenth century. The technique of action was derived from certain forces at work in Europe then and certain incidents such as that of the Paris Commune. It is well known that Marx did not envisage the application of his methods in a backward

2. L.P. Beria (1899-1953) was the Chief of Soviet Secret Police and was known to be instrumental in Stalinist purges. After Stalin's death, Beria was arrested in July 1953 for committing "crime against the people" and was executed in December 1953.



country like Russia. But the combination of corrupt, inefficient and played out autocracy, defeat in war and the misery that came in its train, the break down of the administration and economic system, and a brilliant leader, Lenin, led to that success.

12. It is interesting and instructive to analyse the recent history of other communist countries and how the success of the Communist Party there was achieved. Each case stands on a different footing. China is completely different and can be said to have evolved its revolution itself and through its own strength. But again one sees there the complete collapse of the previous regime and the break-down of the administration and economic system by nearly forty years of civil war, warloads, Japanese invasion and world war. The Chiang Kai-shek regime was thoroughly corrupt and inefficient and really faded away through its own ineptness. In the countries of Eastern Europe, there can be little doubt that communism came in because of the strength of Russian arms after the Second World War. But here again there are differences in each country. In Yugoslavia, the powerful resistance movement built up under Marshal Tito was communist and nationalist. Undoubtedly, it was helped by the Allied arms, but it had a strength of its own. In Poland also there was a powerful nationalist communist movement. In the terrible destruction of Poland by the German army it was this movement of resistance that played a notable part while other internal movements, on the whole, faded away. In Czechoslovakia it might be said that communism was imposed by Russian arms.

13. Another pertinent fact to remember is that nearly all the countries of Eastern Europe which are under communist sway at present, with the exception of East Germany, are Slav in race and language. Thus, there is some link and identity of interest between them and Russia. In a sense it might be said that, apart from China and the Far East, the countries that have become communist are the Slav countries of Eastern Europe. All of them, except Czechoslovakia and East Germany, were backward socially and economically and standards were low.

14. The Soviet Union, after the Second World War, was in a position of great strength in Eastern Europe. It had probably some of the old Czarist ambitions to spread out, more especially over the Slav areas. It had also the desire to protect itself in the future by having as many friendly countries as possible next to its borders.<sup>3</sup> The easiest way to have a friendly country appeared

3. The Red Army had marched over 1,500 miles from Stalingrad to the centre of Germany in the closing years of the War. It also penetrated deep into the Balkans. Stalin wanted to establish sympathetic regimes in countries of defeated enemies, such as Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and East Germany, and of liberated allies, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Albania, thus creating a ring of defence on the Russian border.

to them to have a communist regime there under their patronage. Some small countries like Latvia and Lithuania were just absorbed. It was difficult for these small countries to exist by themselves in the modern world. They had to be under some big power's patronage and Russia was nearest and took them into its lap. The possession of Germany was a big prize for both the major contestants. In the result it was divided.

15. Instead of this extension of the Soviet Power giving it greater security, it led to more difficult problems and conflicts. The fears and apprehensions of the Western countries at the expansion of the Soviet power led them to organise themselves not only in Europe but practically all over the world. The "cold war" began. At the same time scientific and technological developments led to atomic weapons and hydrogen bombs. Both major groups started a race for rearmament and, more especially, for the development of these new methods of mass slaughter. To begin with, the Soviet Union was very strong on land, while the Western Allies were strong in the air. Gradually, the Soviet Union caught up in the air and perhaps even went ahead and even in regard to the hydrogen bomb it made great progress. Meanwhile, a chain of over two hundred bases was established by the Western Allies, chiefly by the United States of America, all round the Soviet Union and China, right from the Arctic Sea downwards. Also, the question of German rearmament was taken up.

16. Thus, while on the one hand the great power of the Soviet Union frightened the Western countries, the Soviet Union itself was equally frightened by this chain of atomic bases and even more so by the prospect of German rearmament. It must be remembered that twice in our own life time Russia and the Eastern European countries have been overrun by German armies and the people in these countries have vivid memories of the vast suffering and destruction caused by these armies. In addition, there were the horrible concentration camps with gas chambers where an International Commission found that millions of people, chiefly Jews, were done to death.<sup>4</sup> I saw one of these in Poland and it was a horrible, almost unbearable, sight. Thus all over Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia, there is fear of German rearmament. There is that fear also in France which has suffered three German invasions within eighty years. France had a double fear: that of the Soviet Union on one side and of a rearmed Germany on the other, and French politics have been torn between these two fears.

17. Thus, the world has gradually drifted towards the verge of war in

4. Out of approximately six million Jews killed by the Germans, Poland lost 2.9 million, USSR one million, Romania, Germany, Czechoslovakia and others about two million.



Europe over the question of Germany and German rearmament. In the Far East the situation has become even more explosive. But at the same time a realisation has come to peoples in all countries and even their leaders and rulers that a new world war would be something unimaginably destructive and ruinous. That fear has acted as a salutary check and perhaps has been instrumental in turning men's minds to the quest of peace as perhaps never before. For people in Europe especially, whether in the East or the West, war is something that they know and have suffered from. They do not want it again.

18. This was the background in my mind when I started this tour of mine. Thus, in a different way, was the background of the peoples in the countries I visited and this perhaps is the dominating factor of the Four Power Conference now being held in Geneva.

19. Apart from the Soviet Union, I visited Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Yugoslavia, Italy, England and Cairo. On my return journey, I passed through Dusseldorf in Germany. Although the stay in Dusseldorf was for an hour and a half, it was significant as a large and enthusiastic crowd of Germans had gathered at the airport and remained there throughout my stay. Not only did I visit these various countries of Europe and Asia, but I flew over vast tracts of land and sea. I crossed the whole of Russia and a good part of the Asian Republics in the Soviet Union. I crossed the whole of Europe, circling round ice-covered Mont Blanc on the way. Normally, we flew high, but sometimes we could see clearly the land and the sea below. It was fascinating to observe the changes from ice-covered mountains to forests and seas and to vast tracts of cultivated land. Even this cultivated land indicated the nature of the land system followed in the country I visited or flew over. Thus, there were small fields, like a succession of carpets, indicating cultivation by peasant farmers. At other places, there were much larger areas of wheat fields etc., which indicated State farms or collective farms. In Siberia, where virgin lands were being brought under cultivation on a big scale, we had some experience of the vast uninhabited Siberian plain. Motoring for a hundred miles, we did not come across a single village and hardly any human beings; all that we saw were occasionally small tractor stations or a bigger centre for these tractors and the people who were working them. Several millions of acres of virgin land have been brought under cultivation in Central Siberia and in parts of Kazakhstan, adding greatly to the food production. In these areas of Central Asia, the climate is extreme. It is quite hot in summer and in winter the temperature goes down to forty degrees or more below zero.

20. Another interesting aspect came before me as I travelled from one country to another. Russia was and is a country with its own outlook, quite apart from communism. It had been affected by Europe of course, as well as by past

Asian invasions, but it has a certain individuality of its own. Being a very big country, it had maintained its individuality in spite of outside influences. The people, the architecture and much else was not European in the real sense of the word, although there was much of Europe in them. Moving eastward to Georgia, there was a greater element of Asia. In Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan there was even more of Asia. It is true that all these Asian Republics of the Soviet Union now bore a strong impress of the Soviet political and economic structure. In Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan facial types were different. Although European clothing was common, both for men and women, there were many people, especially villagers, who were wearing their native dress. Both the facial types and the dress of men and women often resembled closely what we might see in Kashmir today. In the Uzbek language I recognised quite a number of words in common use in India. Presumably, the common origin was Persian.

21. As we moved westward from Russia to Poland, the impress of Europe became more evident. The people there had a little more style in dress and generally were slightly more European in various ways. In Russia and the rest of the Soviet Union, while people were generally adequately clad, there was no attempt at style or fit in dress. No marked difference was noticeable in dress in various grades of people. Proceeding from Poland to Vienna, we came suddenly into the heart of European culture. Vienna and Paris have probably represented the spirit of European culture more than any other city or part of Europe. London, of course, is Europe, but it is insular and slightly cut off from the full stream of European culture. Vienna has been in the past and still is today a gracious city paying more attention to music and the arts as well as the sciences. The city of Vienna, and indeed the whole of Austria, was taking intense interest in the rebuilding of their famous Opera House which had been largely destroyed during the War. They were spending vast sums of money on it. It represented to them something much more than a building or even a home of music. It represented the soul of Vienná and there was an emotional approach to this reconstruction of a great home of music. Fortunately, this had coincided with the recent Agreement on the independence of Austria. Early in November next, Austria will celebrate both its independence and the opening of the new Opera House in Vienna.

22. The journey from Salzburg to Yugoslavia took us again into a different world, which was not wholly Europe. Within Yugoslavia there were great differences in language, historical background and national cultures. A part of Yugoslavia had remained for five hundred years or so under Austrian or Hungarian domination. Another part had remained for a like period under Turkish rule. Some parts had varying degrees of independence. One small area, that of Dubrovnik (also called Ragusa), having a population of less than



fifty thousand, had maintained its independence for a thousand years. This was a great port rivalling Venice in its trade. This small city actually had about 220 consular establishments all round the Mediterranean during the middle ages.

23. Yugoslavia has a substantial Muslim population and we saw many men and women in some parts dressed in their old traditional style, the women often wearing the dress which we had associated with pictures of Turkish harems. They did not wear any veils. There were some fine buildings and mosques dating back from the time of Suleiman the Magnificent. We were told by Marshal Tito that he had no trouble with the Muslims or with the orthodox Church, but he had some trouble with the Roman Catholic Church, because it had interfered in political matters.

24. I do not propose to give a detailed account of what I saw in the various countries. Lengthy accounts have appeared in the press about our tour and cinema films have also given some intimate glimpses of the kind of reception, we had wherever we went. I could not sit down anywhere to study the political or economic system in detail. But I did get a large number of impressions and collected some odd facts.

25. Prague was the first city I went to, a city I had visited sixteen years earlier, just before the Second World War. It was a lovely city and it used to be full of life and vitality. It is lovely still, but the life and vitality were lacking. I had a feeling of depression and unhappiness when I was there. Statistics, I believe, show that industrial progress has been made in many ways and that production is growing, but the large middle class of Czechoslovakia obviously suffered and is unhappy. We stayed in a lovely old villa with a magnificent view of the city and I had a long and interesting talk with the Prime Minister.<sup>5</sup> The President<sup>6</sup> gave a large reception at night where about 3,000 guests came.

26. I did not have any such feeling of depression or unhappiness in the other countries that I visited. In Poland there was a feeling of self-confidence and the construction work done there after the terrible destruction by the Germans was remarkable. There was a sense of pride in their achievements and the popular welcome to me was also a far bigger one than in Prague. Indeed, in the Silesian basin, which is a coal and iron ore area, and a forest of chimneys and factories, the welcome was overwhelming. The most gruesome place we visited during all our tour was Oswiecim, the former Nazi concentration camp, where millions of Jews were done to death.<sup>7</sup>

5. Viliam Siroky (1902-71); Deputy Prime Minister, 1945-53; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1950-53; Prime Minister, 1953-63.

6. Antonin Zapotocky (1884-1957); Prime Minister, 1948-53; President, 1953-57.

7. Nehru visited Oswiecim (Auschwitz) on 25 June, where six million Jews were annihilated by the Nazis.

The present Prime Minister of Poland himself spent a year and a half in this camp.<sup>8</sup>

27. Nearby was Cracow, a very attractive medieval city with a big university. It was interesting to see how the Poles were preserving the old city as it was. The damage done to the old castle and market place had been repaired at considerable cost so as to reproduce the old style and atmosphere of the middle ages.

28. Near Cracow, a completely new town had grown up during the last four years. This is called Nowa Huta, and a vast steel works, called the Lenin Steel Works, has come into existence.<sup>9</sup> Four or five years ago there were fields where Nowa Huta now stands. Now it is a city of eighty thousand and growing rapidly. This new city is the pride of Poland and the engineers in charge of the Steel Works were full of enthusiasm.

29. Warsaw has got a magnificent Palace of Science and Culture, a gift by the Soviet Government to the Polish nation. It is a thirty-two storeyed building and has thousands of rooms and halls.

30. I visited an automobile plant in Warsaw, recently put up with the help of Soviet technicians. What surprised me was that the export price of their car was equivalent to about one thousand dollars, while the local sale price was nearly four thousand dollars. Needless to say there was little private sale of this car in Poland itself and it was used chiefly for official purposes. There was, however, considerable export to distant countries, chiefly in South America, where presumably it could compete with American cars. I was told that the difference between the local and the export price was due to the undertaking being new and its production being still on low scale. Therefore, they charged the overheads chiefly to the local market. Later, when production was at full swing, the two prices would approximate to each other.

31. In Poland, as elsewhere, we saw magnificent Palaces of Youth. We visited the Opera also.

32. I was presented with the latest type of a fine stereocardiographic machine as a gift from the Polish nation to the people of India.

33. From Yugoslavia we had gone to Rome which, because of its history and tradition, is full of attraction. The city seemed full of activity and the

8. During his conversations with Nehru on 23 June, Jozef Cyrankiewicz had said that he was an inmate at Oswiecim (Auschwitz) for two and a half years. According to him, the Jews from all over Europe were brought here on the promise that they would be resettled elsewhere. In fact, they were asked to collect the wood which was used to cremate them after they were gassed.

9. The rate of progress in reconstruction could be imagined from the fact that by the end of 1955 the Lenin Steel Plant had the capacity of producing 4.6 million tons of finished steel.



narrow streets were crowded. But the city, and possibly the country, gave me the impression of the past and not of the future. The people seemed to lack purpose and vitality and there was an air of decadence. The politics of Italy, of course, are in a curious and confused state. Indeed, a new Government was installed there the night before we arrived and the first official function of the new Prime Minister was to welcome us early next morning.<sup>10</sup>

34. In all the countries we visited we saw magnificent old palaces, and sometimes stayed in them. There were the paintings and tapestries and other rare articles from the middle ages, whether it was in Moscow or Leningrad or Warsaw or Prague or Vienna, with its tradition of Maria Teresa and the imperial Hapsburgs. But probably the Vatican and Quirinale Palaces in Rome exceed all these in sheer magnificence.

35. I had a vague recollection of Moscow derived from my visit there twenty-seven years ago. The new Moscow that I saw reminded me a little of that old impression, more especially in regard to the Kremlin, but essentially it was different. It struck me now not only as a great city but as representing a certain dignity, vitality and purpose. Leningrad was the more attractive city, or at any rate I liked it better, but Moscow had much more of the old Russia plus the new industrialism. The streets or avenues were amazingly broad, sometimes 300 ft or 400 ft. Evidently, it was being built for the future with a definite plan in view. Sector by sector, it was being refashioned according to this plan. There were five or six skyscrapers of about thirty or more storeys. The biggest building was the Moscow University. Another skyscraper was the new Foreign Office. On the outskirts of Moscow, there were still some old dilapidated huts visible. But, generally speaking, Moscow was putting on this new look.

36. The streets were full of traffic and the pavements appeared to be always crowded. I was surprised to see the large number of automobiles in the streets. There were many trucks and lorries and buses, but there were also quite considerable number of private cars. There were some luxurious Zis cars, meant chiefly for official purposes, and the more humble five or four-seater cars. I learnt that the private demand for these smaller cars was much greater than the supply. Altogether the city gave an impression of strength and activity.

37. All over the Soviet Union, the most striking feature was the care given to the children and boys and girls. There are, I believe, good schools although I did not go to many. But, apart from this, there are Palaces of the Pioneers. The Pioneers is an organisation of children and boys and girls from six to about fourteen or fifteen. The best buildings, often old palaces or new structures, were given to them. These Pioneers' Palaces were full of rooms for children,

10. A coalition Cabinet headed by Antonio Segni took over on 6 July 1955.

games, and numerous technical sections, where children could play about with handicrafts and model machines and thus get used to machinery. There were rooms for teaching music, painting, and dancing, and games were provided for them. There were also sanatoria and rest houses for the Pioneers in health resorts, especially in the Crimea. I was told that last year five million children had a month's holiday each in these health resorts. The Pioneers' Palaces are supposed to fill in some kind of a gap between the home and the school, and to be supplementary to both. I could not make out what home life the children had, because most of their time must necessarily be taken up either by school or by these Pioneer activities. And yet, Russian people are undoubtedly fond of their children, and there is a tendency now to lay some stress on home life. In any event, children are probably better provided for and looked after in the Soviet Union than almost anywhere. There were also lovely parks, especially for children.

38. The second basic impression that I got in the Soviet Union was of construction everywhere I went. Public buildings, apartment houses, factories, etc., were growing up everywhere. A very considerable section of the working population was engaged in construction work. The Soviet Union had already become a highly industrialised community. This was not merely because of the number of factories etc., but rather because of the stress on the technical aspect of life, which was visible at every stage. The difference between the city-dweller and the farmer was rapidly disappearing, as the farmer himself was using machines more and more.

39. I was struck repeatedly by certain similarities between the Americans and the Russians who today are so hostile to each other. Both are very friendly and hospitable people, easy to get on with, if once the barrier is removed. Once they are friendly, they are frank and cordial. Both have made a god of the machine and have developed or are developing a highly technical civilisation. The United States are undoubtedly more advanced in technique and industrialisation in many ways. But in the Soviet Union the foundations to bring about this change are even broader and from childhood the machine impinges on every person. Both the Russians and the Americans, if unfriendly, become rather unbalanced in that direction. At the present moment, the production of engineers and other kinds of technicians in the Soviet Union is prodigious, exceeding, I am told, the numbers produced in the United States. In fact, people in the Soviet Union will gradually all be engineers, technicians or scientists of some grade or other. There is no doubt that they have already some top-ranking scientists, engineers, etc. Probably before long, they will have a vast reservoir of trained people to draw upon, bigger than that of any other country, including the United States.

40. Another striking feature of the Soviet Union is the stress laid on athletics and games. There are big stadiums in the cities and sometimes a city may have



more than one. Children begin early, at the pioneer stage, and there is all the stress of organised propaganda in favour of athletics. In games, the Soviet Union has already done very well. Football is very popular and, to some extent hockey and water polo. Russians have won international fame in football and ice-hockey.

41. There is a deliberate attempt to encourage music and art and there are conservatories of music in many cities. I rather doubt if the modern painting in Russia is of a particularly high standard. But I am no judge. The ballet, both in Moscow and Leningrad, is superb and there is nothing to compare with it elsewhere in the world. This is really a continuation of the old Czarist tradition and the theme and music also date back.

42. There are numerous big libraries and the reading habit in Russia is said to be widespread. It must be remembered that the types of books that are available are seldom of the very light literature that is popular in other countries. Apart from technical books which are issued in vast numbers, old classics, both of Russia and of other countries in translations, are popular. It was surprising to find ordinary folk reading some of these old classics. I suppose that literacy having spread rapidly there is this hunger for reading. This is likely to bring about far-reaching changes in the mental outlook of the growing generation, in spite of the fact that only certain limited types of books are available.

43. In regard to children, I should like to mention also that many cities have what is called a children's railway. This is a regular railway of a very small size, worked entirely by children. In one part attached to a pioneer establishment, I found that boys of about ten or twelve had built a model hydro-electric station which was actually supplying electricity.

44. Just as children have their rest homes and sanatoria, workers also have numerous such establishments and millions of them go annually for a month's holiday there. Most of these establishments are attached to some particular industry or to a Ministry or a Municipality. There is the eight-hour week, but work is concentrated and involves some strain. I had an impression that it was partly because of this strain that these rest homes and sanatoria were necessary.

45. In all the factories I visited, a large proportion of the workers were women. Normally they were about forty per cent. Also young people were very much in evidence. The husband and wife are often both employed in the same factory and sometimes their grown-up son or daughter also. Thus the joint earning of the family is considerable. Wages are high and so are prices. But the price of bread and a few other necessities is low and so is rent. The lowest wage is about 500 roubles or a little less. The highest might be eight to ten times this. In an engineer's flat that I visited, the engineer, his wife, his son

and daughter-in-law were jointly earning 8000 roubles a month. Even though prices are high, people generally appear to have plenty of money and there is a demand for some goods which are not easily available.

46. As I have said, there is no civil liberty as we know it. But I rather doubt if this lack of civil liberty is felt by the great majority of the people. This is so partly because they have not known civil liberty at any time and partly because in every country people are more concerned with their living conditions than with abstract notions of civil liberty. I suppose there are many people in the Soviet Union who may be dissatisfied with things as they are. But the general impression I got was one of contentment, as practically everyone is occupied and busy and no one seems to get much time for complaining, or if there are complaints, they are about relatively minor matters.

47. It must be remembered that practically everyone under fifty in Russia, that is, almost the entire active population, has grown up under the Soviet system and has been fully conditioned by it, not only by propaganda but much more so by this entire environment. Some old people might complain or think of the good old days but I doubt very much if there is any marked desire in the Soviet Union for a reversion to the old days. Indeed, I do not think it is conceivable that any major change can take place in the economic system. There may be, and probably will be, minor changes and adaptations, but the basic economic structure in industry and land will continue. In establishing this structure and, more especially, in collectivisation of land, a tremendous price in human suffering was paid. That price has been paid and a completely new structure has arisen and been well established. There can be no going back upon this. This may not apply to some of the other communist countries of Eastern Europe where the changes have been more recent.

48. We thus see in the Soviet Union a new type of society growing up. It is a vital society, expanding not only in numbers and in the construction of new towns and cities and factories etc., but fully conditioned to believe in the environment in which it lives. This society is becoming increasingly technical and fairly well-read. Its standards will necessarily go up with increasing production, provided there are no wars or big upsets. How far political restrictions and lack of civil liberties will continue, I cannot say. I imagine that if fear of war and attack goes, there will be a progressive approach to normality and a measure of individual freedom may also come in its train. I do not think this will lead to the type of individual freedom that is known in some of the countries of the West, but a well-read and well-trained society is not likely to submit for long to many restrictions on individual freedom.

49. I am not discussing communism, either its technique or its ideology but rather thinking in terms of the gradual development of the Soviet people under pressure of various events. Marxism as applied to Russia by Lenin was



probably somewhat different from what Marx himself thought. Stalin varied this still more, and I have no doubt that this process of variation will continue in the Soviet Union to suit changing circumstances. In non-communist countries, the communist parties are rigid and out of touch with changing reality. There is no such compulsion in the Soviet Union as the high priests of communism they are free to give any interpretation. The essential basis of a socialist or a communist society will, I think remain but its outer structure may change from time to time. Also, if normalcy comes in, there is no reason to expect a continuance of communist aggressiveness and interference elsewhere. There is, of course, always a tendency for a great power to be expansive and to try to impose its will on others.

50. I think that the Russian outlook today is very definitely opposed to war. This is not so because of some moral scruples but for good practical reasons. They do not want destruction of what they have done, and the Hydrogen bomb is an effective check today to ambition even of great powers. But, apart from this, the Russians feel that they will make good in the economic field and raise their standards of living progressively. They want to demonstrate that they can produce as much as the United States, and they believe they can do so. I have no idea whether they can ultimately do so and, if so, how long it will take them, but there is no doubt that their standards will go up progressively and such inner tensions as might exist today will gradually disappear. When asked as to how long it will take them to have full-blooded communism, they replied that they required another four or five Five Year Plans, that is to say, about twenty-five years' time they will produce an abundance of all necessary goods for their entire population, and that high standards will be obtained for everyone without too much labour.

51. It has been said frequently in the United States that the Soviet system is cracking up on the agricultural front and that recent Soviet moves in favour of peace are a sign of their internal weakness. In fact, it has been said that Russia is "on the run". I think that this is purely wishful thinking in the United States and nothing could be further off the mark. There has been some difficulty in regard to agricultural production. I have no definite knowledge about it, but it is obviously not very serious and, with tens of millions of acres of virgin land being brought under cultivation, there will be no scarcity of foodgrains. In any event, whatever internal difficulties the Soviet Union may suffer from, there is no doubt that it is a strong and powerful nation, as stable as any other. If power is to be measured by scientific advance, then undoubtedly the Soviet Union is in the front rank. The recent air display in Moscow was evidence of their great advance in the latest types of weapons. Of machinery they produce almost everything. It is possible that American machines are sometimes better, but in quantity the Russians are simply pouring out all kinds of aeroplanes,

tanks and every conceivable type of machinery. Marshal Tito, who is a wise observer, told me that for a variety of reasons he was convinced that the Soviet Union wanted peace, but it would be dangerous thinking for the Western Powers to imagine that they can drive the USSR too far.

52. The Soviet Union is the only country which has practically every mineral within its vast area. Even the United States lack some important minerals. England, with her colonies and dominions, probably also has almost everything, but this is spread out and not wholly under its control. No other country approaches this amplitude of resources. The two richest areas in the USSR are the Ural Region and the region round Alma Ata in Kazakhstan. In both these areas, almost every conceivable mineral is found. The Ural region was partly developed even before the Revolution, but since then it has grown enormously and great industrial cities have spread out, like Magnitogorsk and Sverdlovsk. In the Alma Ata region, new towns and factories are springing up rapidly. Even apart from these two major regions, there are many new steel towns, such as Rustavi near Tiflis in Georgia.

53. In many of the factories I visited, there were large numbers of Chinese under training. I imagine there must be many thousands of them. Wherever any machinery was being made for China, there were these Chinese being trained to handle it. I was interested to find that the machines meant for China were stamped in Chinese characters.

54. I visited the following Republics of the USSR: Russian SFSR, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. I also visited the Tartar Autonomous Republic, which is a part of the Russian SFSR and whose Capital is Kazan. Kazan University is famous as the place where Lenin studied. Also Tolstoy and Maxim Gorki and Molotov. Kazan is now a centre of heavy industry and has an opera in the Tartar language.

55. It might be interesting to give some particulars about a big machine-making factory at Sverdlovsk. Construction was begun in 1928 and finished in 1933 with equipment from the United States and Germany. At first the simplest equipment was used as workers were inexperienced. As they improved, more complicated machinery was used. Together with the construction of the factory, settlements for workers were also put up. During the World War this factory produced armaments. Now it is being used for peaceful purposes and is making machines for blast furnaces, open hearth furnaces, rolling mills, rails and plates for railways, sheets, pipes, presses and mining machinery for the petroleum industry. Some of the excavations made there were enormous. There were 16000 workers in the factory of whom thirty per cent were women. Most of these persons were trained in the factory and further training was given in evening classes in institutes. There were schools, kindergartens, hospitals and a stadium attached. The cost of all these came very largely from the factory itself. There



was no contribution by the workers. Houses were built for workers at the cost of the factory and low rents were charged. Some workers built their own houses on loans taken from Government. There was state insurance for workers. Payments were made by the State and the factory. There was no contribution by the workers. There were rewards for long service and special work. The normal age limit for metallurgical workers was fifty and for others fifty-five. There were pensions. The lowest wage for apprentices was 350 going up to 500 roubles monthly. The average worker earned 800 to 900 roubles. Those with higher qualifications 1500 to 3000 roubles or more. The Director received 5000 roubles plus any special reward. We were told that the Indian steel plant would be made in this factory in Sverdlovsk.

56. My basic impression of the Soviet Union was of an extraordinarily warm-hearted people. It is quite absurd for anyone to say that the welcome we got was organised. It certainly was encouraged, but it was definitely a spontaneous warm-hearted welcome, wherever we went from Russia to the Asian Republics. Sometimes it was quite overwhelming in its friendliness. Even the leaders of the Soviet Union were very friendly. There was no mistaking this friendliness and it was not put on.

57. I met all the principal leaders. Voroshilov, the President, an old colleague of Lenin, was the oldest. He is respected and popular, but he does not count much politically. The important men were Bulganin, the Prime Minister, Khrushchev, the Secretary of the Communist Party, Kaganovich, Molotov, Mikoyan and Saburov.<sup>11</sup> Malenkov is also important, but still in a slightly lower grade. Marshal Zhukov<sup>12</sup> did not meet us at the political talks, but he is obviously an outstanding person there. He has great charm and is a frank soldier. We not only had official talks on a Government level about the world situation, more especially in Europe and the Far East, but also numerous private talks which were quite informal and frank. These talks gave me more of an insight into these Soviet leaders than even the formal talks. I have no doubt whatever that they are anxious and eager for a settlement with the western powers and that they value India's friendship.<sup>13</sup>

11. M.Z. Saburov (1900-61); Chairman, Soviet State Planning Commission, 1949 and 1955-57.
12. G.K. Zhukov (1896-1974); Deputy Minister of Defence, 1953-55; Minister of Defence, 1955-57.
13. K. Rangaswami of *The Hindu*, who accompanied Nehru on his tour, also felt that the Russians were "sincere" in their efforts. On 2 July 1955, he wrote: "It may be said that the Russians scored where others have failed. Their study and understanding of India's national sentiments and susceptibilities, as well as individual preferences and aversions is almost something uncanny."

58. After a brief interlude in Vienna and in Salzburg, where we had a Conference of our Heads of Missions in Europe, we proceeded to Yugoslavia and spent a week there. As usual, we had a very great welcome. Everything in Yugoslavia was on a somewhat smaller scale not only as compared with the USSR but even the other countries we visited. Yugoslavia was a very backward country under Austria-Hungary. It did not make much progress in between the two Wars. But it certainly has gone ahead under Marshal Tito. It is a delightful country with great and charming variety. We visited not only Beograd (or Belgrade) but also Sarajevo, Mostar (a lovely little town built by the Turks), Dubrovnik, Split, Ljubijana, Zagreb and finally Brioni, thus covering four of the six Republics of Yugoslavia—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia. We visited many of their new factories and institutions. We were particularly struck by the rapid advance made in ship-building in recent years. One of the interesting features of Yugoslavia is the Workers Council, which controls the particular factory. Apparently they have almost full powers. I think this requires study by us.<sup>14</sup>

59. It was interesting to find that the separate Republics both in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia had each their own separate flag and national anthem. Thus when I went to Uzbekistan in the USSR, three national anthems were played—the Indian, the USSR and Uzbek—and three national flags were displayed.

60. Both in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia, I was astonished to find how popular some Indian films were. The names of several films were mentioned to me. The only two I remember now are *Awara* and *Do Bigha Zamin*. The tunes and songs from *Awara* were often heard by us in the streets and on the radio. This indicates that we have a large market for the proper kind of films in the Soviet Union and in other East European countries.

61. I had long talks with Marshal Tito and his Ministers. These talks were even more frank and intimate than elsewhere. There was so much in common between our outlook and Marshal Tito's in regard to world affairs that we could discuss matters without any inhibition. Marshal Tito has had a very adventurous life of which twelve years were spent in prisons and many years as a guerilla leader. He knows all the prominent leaders in the Soviet Union intimately and knows their language too. He also knows the German language and people well. He is, therefore, in a peculiarly advantageous position to judge Soviet or Central European problems. I found his talks very helpful in understanding these problems and we have promised to keep in close touch with each other.

14. The system of 'Workers Council', to manage the day-to-day running of a factory, by the representatives of the workers was started in Yugoslavia in 1949.



62. Marshal Tito's wife, Madame Broz,<sup>15</sup> is a charming and beautiful woman. She is very young. She comes from a poor peasant family which has suffered during the war of resistance. At the age of sixteen she joined the guerillas and had a hard time.

63. We were sorry to leave Brioni and Yugoslavia. During our week there we had become very friendly with Marshal Tito and his colleagues. Brioni itself was a beautiful island in the Adriatic.

64. From Brioni we went to Rome. I went there specially to see the Pope but, naturally, I met the leaders of the Government there also. Our talks with the President and Ministers of the Republic were not important. I liked the Pope. He impressed me as a fine man. He is about eighty years old.

65. From Rome we proceeded to London by a special aircraft sent by the British Government. Sir Anthony Eden met me at the airport and took me to Chequers, where I had talks with him separately and later joined a conference which was attended by Sir Anthony Eden, Mr Macmillan, the Foreign Minister, and Lord Home, Commonwealth Minister.<sup>16</sup> Also Malcolm Macdonald who is coming to India as the UK High Commissioner. On our side present were the High Commissioner Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, V.K. Krishna Menon and N.R. Pillai. These talks related chiefly to the Four Power Conference in Geneva and to the problems of Europe and the Formosa Straits. Also, about the Indo-China States. At the invitation of the Queen I went to Windsor also. During my two days in England I spent only two hours in London. I travelled by motor or helicopter about 250 miles. The weather was perfect and the English country side looked beautiful in its summer garb.

66. On my way back I stopped for a day in Cairo and discussed matters with Colonel Nasser, Prime Minister, and his colleagues. They were interested, of course, in my impressions of my tour. Their principal concern, however, is the position of the Arab nations. The Egyptian Government was trying hard to get Syria and Saudi Arabia to sign an agreement which would keep these countries out of military alliances with the great powers. The UK and Turkey, however, and possibly the USA also, are anxious to prevent this and to get Syria to join the Turko-Pakistan Pact.<sup>17</sup> The Egyptian

15. Jovonka Broz married Tito in 1952.

16. Alexander Frederick Douglas-Home, 14th Earl of Home (1903-95); gave up the peerage and became a commoner under the name of Sir Alec Douglas-Home. This enabled him to become Prime Minister in 1963. Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1955-60; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1960-63; Prime Minister, 1963-64; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, 1970-74.

17. On 1 July 1955, Pakistan joined the Turko-Iraqi Mutual Cooperation Treaty, which was signed on 25 February 1955. This was part of the Middle East defence plan to which UK and USA were also parties.

Government is also much concerned with developments in Sudan and the intention of the Sudanese Government to have no link with Egypt in the future.

67. Thus ended my tour of five weeks in which I covered nearly 25,000 miles. I have not referred in this note to the actual talks we had with the leaders of Governments we visited. The principal talks were in Moscow and in Yugoslavia. We had full records of these and perhaps at a later stage a summary might be prepared of some of the important points discussed.

68. The broad impression of my tour was of great changes taking place in the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe. Undoubtedly, a new type of society is being built up. This process has gone farthest in the USSR. Differences in income are still fairly considerable in the Soviet Union and probably range from 1 to 10. In Yugoslavia, this difference is less, probably 1 to 6. The general level in Yugoslavia is lower. Apart from some political leaders, the persons most respected appeared to be the scientists and the higher technicians. Science has been given every opportunity to develop and there were academies of science in palatial buildings in every Republic of the Soviet Union that we visited. This new society is well educated and becoming progressively more and more technical and scientific. Because of this widespread education and technical knowledge, it is not likely that a small group can dominate over them in future. The economic structure is such that there is no basic urge to exploit other countries. Of course, the desire to dominate or to exercise one's influence over others is there and is accentuated by the "cold war". This new society is not based on the profit motive. But there are certain incentives in the shape of higher income and greater amenities, apart from prestige and status. We were told quite clearly in Moscow that they were not aiming at equal incomes because this could not provide sufficient incentive.

69. The question of trying to limit population growth arose in our talks one day in Moscow. Khrushchev was emphatic that they wanted the population in the Soviet Union to grow and there was plenty of room for them. He did not believe in such limitation. He said that, in fact, they wanted to double their population. I asked him what would happen if or when the population intensity in the Soviet Union was that of India. He laughed and said the question could be considered when it arose.

70. It is clear that conditions we have to face in India are in many ways quite different from those in the Soviet Union. To some extent, they resemble conditions in China, i.e., a very large population. Therefore, we have to tackle our problems in our own way. But I feel that we can learn a great deal from the experiences of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. I feel also that any real progress in India in the future must depend on a foundation of heavy industry.



## 14. Observations on the World Issues<sup>1</sup>

...Question: While in Europe you stated that the Cominform had curtailed its activities. Is the report correct?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No. I did not say anything like that. What I said—even here, I think, I said, before I went—was that in view of these Five Principles, i.e., *Panch Shila*—the Cominform does not fit in with them. They practically cannot function without coming into conflict with the assurance contained in these principles. That is what I might have said; what the Cominform does, I do not know, it is not within my knowledge.

Q: Was this point discussed specifically?

JN: No, that is to say, we discussed the Five Principles, not the Cominform as such by name.

Q: That the Five Principles may result in the abolition of the Cominform?

JN: I did not say that, though all the same, their logical application will lead to the nonfunctioning of it, the fading away of it, if you like.

Q: In your joint statement with President Tito there was a reference to the exchange of views on international questions and there was also a reference to sending of economic missions. Will you tell us whether any date has been arrived at for sending of economic missions?...

JN: It is about my joint statement with Marshal Tito in which a reference is made to the exchange of views between the two Governments frequently, and to the exchange of economic and trade missions. Well, so far as the missions are concerned, no date has been fixed; but I think that we shall be in touch with each other, the two Governments, about economic and trade matters by correspondence through our diplomatic missions; and at a suitable moment a mission can go there or can come here.

As for the exchange of views, that normally takes place between friendly countries; and in the case of Yugoslavia it will take place much more, because

1. Press Conference, New Delhi, 19 July 1955. Press Information Bureau. Extracts. Also available in JN Collection.

we have a very great deal in common in our thinking, and in our approach to international problems.

Q: You have repeatedly said both in Europe and also on return to this country, that wherever you went, you found the Russian people thirsting for peace. Will you tell us whether the armaments of Russia are being designed only for defensive purposes and not for conquest?

JN: Armaments?

Q: Yes, I mean their arms, whatever they are.

JN: First of all, what I have said is not about the Soviet Union only but of other countries also that I visited, so far as the people are concerned. So far as armaments are concerned, I know nothing about arms; perhaps you know more; but the big armaments today of the Big Powers are all highly dangerous, highly offensive, highly aggressive and far too great a nuisance to every peace-loving person. That applies to every country. About enormous armaments, of course, one can always say that the armaments in a country are meant for defensive purposes, lest somebody else should attack. It depends on the way you approach the question.

Q: Does it mean that both the East and the West have raised Frankensteins?

JN: These are platitudes. Of course, talking with reference to the hydrogen bomb etc., nobody can say that the hydrogen bomb is defensive. It may be said to be defensive, to prevent the other sending a hydrogen bomb, in that sense it may be. But you cannot defend your country with a hydrogen bomb, you perhaps frighten the other chap into not using it.

Q: As a result of discussions of economic matters with the Soviet Minister and their Planning Chief and of what you saw there, is there any likelihood of your getting aid by way of technical or other forms of assistance?

JN: ...My discussions with them were really due to my desire to know how their system worked.<sup>2</sup> One important development in their planning has been that they have divided their Planning Commission into two parts. One part is for the current year and the other part is for longer periods and perspectives. Previously the same Commission considered both. Now there is this division. There is or has been no question of what might be called "aid", that is to say,

2. See *post*, pp. 308-311.



anything involving financial aid etc. There were questions of getting some machinery, or it may be, some kind of technical assistance or some technical persons being sent for some particular purposes. These were discussed, not the machinery for it, but that this possibility might arise.

Q: You spoke at length of the Second Five Year Plan here before going to Russia at the last press conference. Does your visit to Russia influence the conception of the Second Five Year Plan as a result of what you saw in Russia, I mean the main lines of the Plan as it was conceived?

JN: No, I don't think so; I don't think that it has any particular effect on our Second Five Year Plan which is based on conditions in India. Of course, many things that I saw, for instance the developments that I saw in Yugoslavia which we would like to study a little more, about the association of workers with industries etc. But that has no direct relation to the Second Five Year Plan. But those are interesting developments which we would like to study and see how far possibly they can be made applicable here.

Q: This association of workers, is it to be in the public sector?

JN: I am only saying that it is worth careful consideration, and surely it can apply to any sector.

Q: Could you kindly name any aspect of the Soviet system which we in our country can adopt with benefit, consistent with our democratic system, in the industrial or economic fields?

JN: These words are used rather vaguely. What do you mean by Soviet system? Possibly you mean the entire political and economic structure as a whole?

Q: The structure as it is.

JN: It is a tremendous question.

Q: In the work of economic or industrial reconstruction, the development part of it, in industrialisation.

JN: The Soviet Union set about long years ago to develop their country rapidly. They laid the greatest stress on heavy industries because they felt that that was the key to future development. In developing the heavy industries, because of many other aspects, they paid a very heavy price. At the same time, it may be said that if they had not developed their heavy industries in

the intensive way they did, they would have lost the last War, because that development just helped them tide over the last War. That may be considered a justification for that intensive development or not, but they had to face a particular situation.

Now, the questions that arise here are not copying the Soviet system of course, not in its political but even in its economic aspects—but the balancing of heavy industry with light industry, with household industry and the like. We are not functioning under the strains and fears which Soviet economy had to face twenty or thirty years ago; nevertheless, we have to progress fast because of economic pressures. As you know, we are laying great stress on the development of heavy industry in India in the Second Five Year Plan, not to the same extent but, of course, more than we have done in the past. Then again we have decided on trying to realise a socialist pattern of society. That does not mean again, any kind of imitation of the Soviet pattern or any other pattern, but of developing this pattern according to our own conditions. Now, a socialist pattern inevitably means a certain ownership by the State of the major means of production. So far as land is concerned, we think of it in terms of the private sector, that is, individual peasant proprietorship; so far as industry is concerned, we think of it in terms of key industries being owned by the State and some kind of general control for planning purposes of the other sectors of industry. We have no cut and dried policy for this. We are proceeding step by step keeping the broad idea in view; of course, there is always the question of viewing all these matters from the point of view of employment. There is a great difference, geographical and physical, in the problems that India might have to face and the Soviet Union may have to face. They have vast areas of land and relatively to India—a much smaller population; we have far more human beings and far less land. That itself makes our approach inevitably different. There is no question of unemployment there; in fact, possibly—as in Yugoslavia too—they lack manpower. They can easily do with more manpower. There is no question of unemployment in Yugoslavia or in the Soviet Union. Here it is reversed. Therefore, the approach has to be different.

Q: One of the questions said to have been raised at Geneva by President Eisenhower is the status of the so-called satellite States in Eastern Europe. When you speak of non-interference, do you envisage a kind of freezing of the existing situation, no further interference or do you envisage a withdrawal of any past interference, restoration to any former status of any country?<sup>3</sup>

3. Eisenhower had talked about the 'satellite' East European States in the context of rearming West Germany and the need for security of the 'free world'. The only alternative to such a move was the reversion to pre-Second World War status of these countries.



JN: There can be no uniform answer to this question in regard to various countries of the world. You can only take each one of them separately and deal with them. I would say now that each question should be settled peacefully, and naturally I should like it to be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of the area. To demand withdrawals is not—apart from the condition of having the facts of the case—a realistic proposal; all these can follow, not the withdrawal but the consideration of that question, much more easily when these great tensions of the cold war cease to function. Then it is easier to consider because I think many of the changes—territorial changes—that took place were brought about by a desire for security, to have peaceful States, friendly States or States under one's control, all over the place. I am not talking about one part of the world; I am talking about all over the world, whether in Eastern Europe or South East Asia or elsewhere. There has been this desire to grab, lest the other person grabs the place and an innocent third party has been brought into the picture as a plaything of others. In Indo-China, you will remember, the whole of the Geneva settlement was based on the agreement to keep those States what might be called neutral, unaligned in the military sense; that is, both the major powers were afraid of the Indo-China States being used, exploited by the other party. And so they came in conflict. They come in conflict today even. But if the Indo-China States were largely left out of this conflict, then I do not say that the problems are solved, but they become a bit easier of solution.

Q: It is said that there is some sort of restriction on the sovereignty of these countries. Is it your impression? After all you visited Poland and Czechoslovakia also.

JN: What I was saying just now was of general application to Indo-China, but if you are referring to the countries of Eastern Europe, internationally speaking, they are recognised by the United Nations as sovereign nations. They are sovereign nations, but what influence or pressure may be exercised by a big country on a small country is another matter. That is being done all over.

Q: Do you think that the bigger weapons they develop, I mean the hydrogen bomb and so on, if they were developed, then they could eventually turn the scales in favour of peace?

JN: I do not know what is your idea of "bigger weapons". I thought they were big enough. I think it is true that they have become big enough to frighten those thinking in terms of war, i.e., in a sense they exercise a restraining influence in favour of peace.

Q: You referred to Indo-China. May I point out that the Geneva Agreement

was not signed by South Vietnam. The Geneva Agreement does not apply to them because they were not a party to it. Secondly, it is also contended that if there are to be elections, it should be under the auspices of the United Nations and not under the auspices of the International Commission. Would you like to comment on these two aspects?

JN: You know that India is Chairman of these International Commissions in Indo-China and I should not like to say very much in this matter because it may, well, influence the International Commission, the way it approaches these questions. But one thing is quite clear. When the South Vietnam authorities say that they did not sign the Geneva Agreement—well, it is true they did not—but they had no business to sign it either, because France was the controlling authority. France was the power controlling that part of Vietnam and France signed it on behalf, not only, of itself but of its successor Government, and South Vietnam Government is the successor Government to the French Government in South Vietnam, and they have to take the Agreement's responsibilities and liabilities, which every successor Government has to take. In other words, at the time of the Geneva Agreements, France represented South Vietnam and dealt with the other Governments accordingly. It would be an impossible position if every successor government denied the agreements arrived at by its predecessor. That, I think, is the legal position. Practically the question is of giving effect to the Geneva Agreements or putting an end to the Geneva Agreements and facing the consequences. One cannot hover between the two positions for long; for a short time one might. Now the Geneva Agreements were arrived at after long and difficult consultations, and all the Great Powers concerned as well as some of the lesser powers, go on saying that the Geneva Agreements should be honoured and acted upon. Quite rightly. Not to act up to them in any particular place means a breach of them, which may lead to the upsetting of the whole Geneva structure and that might very well have very serious consequences because the armistice and the peace that came to Indo-China was as a result of these Geneva Agreements, and it is a dangerous thing to upset the structure which brought about that peace. Therefore, it is our opinion that the Geneva Agreements should be given effect to by all parties concerned. In fact, so far as India is concerned, as Chairman of the International Commissions, it has gone there with this direction by the Geneva Powers. That is our function. If the Geneva Agreements are bypassed then we cannot function there. What do we do there then?

Q: Recently there have been reports from Kathmandu suggesting an impending restoration of Dr K.I. Singh to Nepal and seeking friendly advice in the matter by the Indian Government. Could you tell us something about it?



JN: What is meant by restoration? I gather that the Chinese Government have informed the Government of Nepal that they are allowing Dr K.I. Singh to return to Nepal. He is apparently asked to go back. So they informed the Nepal Government, "He is going back to Nepal" and informed them the date and route by which he will go back. It is for the Nepal Government to deal with the situation.

Q: What are your minimum hopes of the Geneva Conference and what would you like as the minimum to emerge?

JN: It is very difficult to talk about these matters in concrete terms. The minimum hopes are two—a definite and precise creation of an atmosphere of friendly cooperation and attempts to settle everything by negotiation, and the giving up of threatening language to each other. I think those are the things that should quite clearly be decided upon.

Q: What do you think of the speeches made there so far?

JN: I think the speeches, as far as I have read them, are good.

Q: Is it true that you have pointed out the necessity to discuss some of the East Asian problems?

JN: To whom? I do not point out anything in the air.

Q: To Mr Eden. Is it a fact that they have decided not to discuss the Far Eastern questions on their agenda?

JN: I do not know what they have decided and what they have not decided. It is the Conference which will draw up its own agenda. After the meeting each person might have different views on it.

Q: In case there was no discussion of Far Eastern matters—which most probably may be the case—do you think it would be the right time to have another conference with different membership on Far Eastern problems?

JN: Well, I will tell you what I think about it, and not, as someone suggested, by broadcasting my views to the powers in Geneva. First of all, the Far Eastern situation is not only one of the two major vital problems of the world, the other being Germany (the European problem), but, if I may say so, it is a more explosive problem at present than the German problem.

Q: What do you mean by "Far East"? Formosa or...?

JN: Yes, the Formosa Straits, all that taken together, I mean of course. The immediate issue is, if you like, even in the narrow one, the coastal islands and all that. It is all bits of the larger question. Now if an issue is so vital and tends to be explosive, it cannot be ignored at any meeting of the Big Four Powers. On the other hand this issue cannot really be considered fully without the presence of the People's Government of China. Therefore, while presumably the Four Powers in Geneva may formally or informally consider this question, it will have to be only some initial consideration and not in a more definite way. I should imagine and hope that they will give some consideration to the matter that way—rather to make it easy for further consideration.

Q: Would they take the consent of the Government after that meeting?

JN: That time will have to come some time or other. Exactly when, I cannot say.

Q: Asian problems are being discussed in Geneva without the representatives of Asia. Would that solve the world problems?

JN: As I said just now, one can hardly envisage a proper consideration of the Far Eastern problems without Asian representatives and I mentioned China's case particularly. All these other countries in Asia are greatly interested in those problems also.

Q: Did you consult or discuss with Soviet leaders for a ten power conference on Formosa?

JN: No. I may tell you, apart from discussion, our broad view on this subject is that some time or other a conference will have to be held to consider these Far Eastern problems. How many countries are associated is another matter. It is a matter which offers us no difficulty. It does offer others difficulty, for example, exclusion or inclusion. We do not mind who comes, whether we are there or are not there. But before that Conference is held formally, informal approaches should prepare the ground for that Conference, so that the Conference may not meet in a rigid manner, without any meeting ground, we might say.

Q: To what extent was Krishna Menon's mission to Washington a success or failure?

JN: Krishna Menon has been to Washington several times. In two series, once six or seven months ago.

...Q: I am referring to the recent visit, after the release of the four American prisoners.



JN: I do not know what your tests for success or failure are. When you are negotiating, when you are trying to put across some position or some ideas, you don't come to sudden conclusions. A certain effect is produced; then I suppose all suggestions are considered. I have no doubt at all—I do not want to speak about India and all the rest of it—that our activities, the Government of India's, directly and indirectly, through Mr Krishna Menon, etc., in Washington, in London, in Ottawa, in Peking, have been very helpful indeed to begin with. I do not say that is the reason for it. There are other factors too. And as the subjects are difficult, it is not fair to expect any sudden solutions. But, as I said, this is the way you prepare the ground for a solution which comes later on.

Q: Mr Dulles is reported to have said that Mr Krishna Menon did not bring any specific proposals. Is this correct?

JN: How do you expect me to answer?

Q: Would you say that Mr Menon found the same sympathetic audience in Washington as in Peking and that we are now nearer a solution.

JN: Washington, as you know, in many ways, is very different from Peking. What I mean is this. The Peking Government speaks authoritatively with one voice. There are no two voices. In Washington there are the Congress, the Senators and the others—very important persons. Of course, on top is the President, obviously most representative of all; but the whole structure of the United States is of diffusion of power and so you hear so many voices from America. Ultimately it is the President who counts, no doubt, but the President himself has to take into consideration all these diffused voices and feelings. But I will say this, if I may say so, these are all delicate matters. My own strong feeling is that there has been a great improvement in the United States in regard to popular as well as governmental reactions.

Q: Would you give us an idea of the lines of your conversation with Mr Cooper<sup>4</sup> here?

JN: We are constantly dealing with particular matters. You can hardly expect me to discuss the conversations we have with ambassadors here—there is nothing extraordinary. We are dealing in the normal way of diplomats.

4. Nehru met John Sherman Cooper, the US Ambassador, in New Delhi on 14 July 1955. See *post*, p. 359.

Q: Would you like to comment on the removal of the restrictions on the movement of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan into NWFP?

JN: Of course, I welcome it. I am glad that he has gone back to his home.

Q: Would you mind going back to the question of "aid from Russia". You said that there was no question of aid, but only of machinery or technicians. Would you care to clarify that? Was or was not aid offered and whether you discussed it?

JN: I will tell you exactly what happened. First of all, there was no question of offering aid in the sense of what I call free aid—that is financial or other—there was no question at any time. There was no mention of it from either side. But the Soviet Government, that is, Mr Bulgānin told me that they would gladly help us in our industrial development wherever they could, by expert assistance or supply of machinery, etc. He pointed out that they had enough burdens to carry. It was not that they had something lying there which is not used, because their own development schemes are very big. They are helping the Chinese People's Republic. So that they said, "as a matter of goodwill, we should like, to the extent possible, to help you in particular in industrial development, etc." We did not discuss details, because that is a matter for discussion later on.

Q: There was some criticism that Russia was going to the summit talks out of a sense of weakness, militarily, industrially, etc.?

JN: I should say that that feeling is without any foundation or justification. I do not think the Soviet Union is acting from any sense of weakness. I am not competent to judge, but I do not think they suffer from either military or economic weakness.

Q: Do you think this Indo-Russian steel agreement is a proper model for our getting other machinery from Russia or technical assistance?

JN: The Indo-Russian steel agreement is practically on the same lines as the Indo-German steel agreement. It is not a model.

Q: But the terms are much more favourable?

JN: It is a business deal between the Government of India and the foreign state or foreign concern. It is possible, I do not remember, the terms are slightly more favourable in regard to the rate of interest, in regard to the date of payment,



but these are minor points. Naturally, we try to get the best terms. But the major thing is, we pay for what we get.

Q: Did you discuss the question of unification of Korea with the Soviet leaders?

JN: No.

...Q: While the Government talks of socialistic pattern, the capitalists make more money on the stock market. Is it possible to visualise any immediate steps in terms of translating that slogan into practice?

JN: In other words, you mean intermediate steps to prevent certain individuals or groups of individuals from exploiting the situation to their advantage. Do I interpret you correctly? I suppose it would be a good thing if such intermediate steps were taken. It is a complicated question to answer but you should remember, do not blame those individuals or that group, because the whole conception of the capitalistic system is of 'grab'. The whole basic conception is of getting more and more, hoping that in this process everybody will advance his own interests. Some may go down, but generally speaking, the society may advance if everybody looks after his or her own selfish interest. There is nothing wrong in it. I am speaking from my own point of view, there is nothing wrong with it except that it is out of date today. It was all right in its own time. It did a lot of good to the world, but as the world is today, I think it is a rather out-of-date conception.

Q: Some people allege that it is only after your visit to China last year, that the phrase the 'socialistic pattern' came in the Congress Session. After your visit to Russia, we have not had any sufficient dose of socialism.

JN: Before I went to China last year, the Parliament passed a resolution about the Socialist Pattern of Society. The matter came up before Parliament. I think it was a private member's resolution which the Government accepted. Of course, even that was not any great change. We have always been talking about them. Anyhow, Parliament accepted that formally as an approach, before I went to China. My visit to China had nothing to do with the Congress resolution. It was a general development of the Congress policy.

Q: Give another dose of socialism after your visit to Russia?

JN: My own view is that we should have as strong doses as possible, provided we can assimilate them....

Q: There is a suggestion of minimum fixation of ceilings on land holdings by the Taxation Inquiry Commission. Has the Planning Commission given any thought to it?

JN: Thought is being given to it. How can I say more about it?

Q: You defined the responsibility of South Vietnam as a successor Government to the Geneva Agreement. Have the United States got any responsibility in regard to the Agreement?

JN: It is rather difficult to precisely answer the question. But I would say, they have a passive responsibility, acceptance of things—not their bringing about—but their acceptance of certain decisions.

Q: After your tour recently, can you say that the Second Plan can be easily implemented without much difficulty?

JN: How can my visits make any difference? Except that we are able to educate ourselves by examining the various methods, various examples of success as well as failure. All that is helpful in our education. But after that, we employ such knowledge and experience as we have, to Indian conditions.

Q: Sir, in connection with the Geneva Agreement you mentioned that in a way the South Vietnam Government was bound by the fact that it is a successor Government to the French Government which signed the Geneva Agreement. Did you imply by that that all Governments of former colonies are bound by the pacts signed by the colonial masters? What would you like to say about the Treaty of 1472 between Portugal and Britain?

JN: No. A country under colonial domination frees itself either by consent or by a revolutionary process. If it is by a revolutionary process, there is no binding. But if it is by consent, then certain terms of consent are normally laid down. But what binds it and what does not bind it, broadly speaking, may be a matter of detail. So far as the reference to the Portuguese Treaty of the 15th century is concerned—between Britain and Portugal—I would suggest all of you to read it and then ask me questions about it. That Treaty made in an age long gone by contains the most fantastic and curious provisions which have no relation to the modern world, because the world is quite different today. Imagine, in the middle of the 15th century, of course, Britain was not in India. There was no question of England or India. England was a small power then, and I myself forget the language used.



Q: What would you tell us about your talk with the President of Indonesia last night.<sup>5</sup>

JN: There is nothing much to tell. We met a little while ago, and he asked me about my visit to various countries. He told me about his forthcoming visit, and something about his own country—the elections that are going to come in September, I believe....

5. Nehru met Soekarno, who was on his way to Mecca, at 2.55 a.m. on 19 July at the Palam airport.

## 15. Impressions: Tour of USSR and Other Countries-II<sup>1</sup>

In my first note on my visit to the Soviet Union and other countries, I barely touched on the political issues, although I gave some background impressions. I should like to deal with some of these political and international aspects in this second note.

2. My talks with the Soviet leaders and Marshal Tito helped me to get a clearer idea of the present world situation. This was not essentially different from what I had previously. But certain new developments were emphasized by them. Even more so, what I saw and felt gave me a greater understanding. I have always felt that it is not merely the obvious facts and the statements of politicians, so copiously reported in the press, that have to be considered in arriving at an understanding of events. Often one has to look a little below the surface as well as in some perspective in order to gain a truer perception. I had opportunities during this recent tour of mine to gather these impressions which progressively affected my understanding of the present day situation.

3. To some extent, subsequent events have confirmed my appreciation of the situation. When I went to London after my Soviet and Yugoslav tour, I gave a brief account of my assessment of the situation to Sir Anthony Eden and his colleagues. They were not quite sure if this appraisal was a correct one. But of course they were polite enough not to contradict me. It is interesting to note therefore, what their impressions were after the Four Power Conference

1. Note, 1 August 1955. *The Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union and other Countries (June-July 1955)*. File No. 1(3)/R&1/59. MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

held at Geneva. Mr Macmillan met all the High Commissioners in London on the 27th July. We have received a report of what he said then:

He began by saying that his Government were under a debt of deep gratitude to the Indian Prime Minister whose assessment of the Russian situation had been their guide throughout the talks and proved correct every time. He said he had taken notes of the conversation at Chequers and was amazed to find how closely the Russian approach followed the line indicated by the Prime Minister. It was of immense importance to have had this guidance of which both he and Eden were deeply appreciative.

He described talks with Russians as cordial and sincere on both sides and said the greatest thing that emerged from the Conference was the undeniable fact that neither side sought war as a solution of problems. He mentioned being struck with the obvious desire of Russians to be liked, which was also a typical American trait. This desire, he said, was very evident in all their dealings with the West in Geneva.

4. While I was travelling across the Soviet Union or southern and western Europe, and when I was visiting any place, meeting prominent men or looking at vast crowds, I was less interested in odd facts and statistics (indeed I had no time to get them) than in the impressions I got. I made myself receptive to those impressions. More and more I saw this great panorama in its continental aspect as well as in the perspective of history. I noticed that behind all the revolutionary changes that had taken place both in the Soviet Union as well as in western Europe during the last half century, there was still the basic pride and love of country in each nation. The Russians may be communists, but they were more Russian than communists. The Poles were intensely nationalistic, as they always have been. The Yugoslavs were equally attached not only to their country but to each separate Republic of their country. There was the pride of the Croatian in Croatia, of the Serb in Serbia, of the Slovenes in Slovenia and so on. In the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union as well as in the Ukraine and Georgia, there was also this local pride and patriotism. There was no obvious conflict in this local patriotism with the larger feeling of the national group, or if there was this conflict, we did not see it. On the whole there appeared both in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia a successful compromise between the two.

5. I saw people everywhere, in various stages of development, but nearly all of them far more developed than India, working hard, building and constructing their country and anxious above all for peace. There was a common apprehension and fear of war and a desire to work out their destiny in peace.



I often wondered why there was at all when there was such a passionate wish to avoid it.

6. The Soviet Revolution of 1917 and all the ups and downs that had followed it, passed before my eyes. Undoubtedly, this was a tremendous human upheaval. The question of liking it or disliking it hardly arises in trying to understand it. Indeed, any extreme like or dislike colours our vision. It was an elemental phenomenon brought about by a conjunction of unique events and, like a storm or an earthquake, it had to be viewed objectively. Such an upheaval brought numerous consequences in its train, which again were largely governed and conditioned by the past history of Russia. It is this past of Russia and the conditions that prevailed under the Czars that are important in our understanding of the Revolution as well as of what followed it. We often make the mistake of judging another country in terms of our own country or of our own experiences. It was this basic idea of mine that I stressed wherever I went, that every country is conditioned by its own historical, geographical and cultural background. It has to grow in that soil. It is true that, in the modern world, there are innumerable factors which bring us together and produce somewhat uniform conditions as well as ideas. It is true I suppose that we are inevitably going towards the idea of "One World". Nevertheless, there are vast differences in the backgrounds of different peoples, vaster even than in their economic conditions.

7. And so, I traced in my mind the history of the last thirty-eight years in the Soviet Union. In the course of our conversations with the Soviet leaders, they had pointed out that, since the Revolution thirty-eight years ago, they had spent twenty years in either war or civil war or in trying to repair the terrific damage of the wars. The present generation had grown up under the shadow of war or the fear of war and had never any chance of developing what might be called a normal life. And yet, there was the natural desire to become normal. Only fear prevented them from doing so, in spite of their great strength.

8. I was convinced in the Soviet Union of the great change in outlook both of the Government and the people there. They were very different from one's normal conception of people wedded to the doctrine of international communism and permanent revolution till the entire world became communist. I had realized this to some extent even before I went to the Soviet Union. My visit confirmed this impression. Whatever Marx's original theory might have been, and this theory had undergone considerable modifications even in the Soviet regime, it had become only a vague theory with little practical application in so far as world revolution was concerned. I found that communists in the Soviet Union were a different brand from communists in non-communist countries. In the Soviet Union, they were the Government facing daily national and international problems. They were in touch with reality and responsibility. In non-communist countries, communists inevitably were of purely agitational variety with fixed and inflexible grooves of thought based on a theory which

had ceased to have much application in the Soviet Union. The authorities in



Japan,<sup>3</sup> the treaty with Iran, and lastly and most surprisingly, the invitation to Chancellor Adenauer to visit Moscow.

13. All these were definite moves towards ending the cold war. The initiative in each case was that of the Soviet Union. Reactions in Western countries varied. Many welcomed this but most were suspicious. Some people in the United States even went so far so to say that the Soviet Union was internally weak and about to collapse, hence these attempts to lessen tensions, etc. This was a manifestly wrong conclusion; the war apparatus of the Soviet Union had never been so strong. Everyone who knew admitted that their scientific advance in regard to atomic weapons and hydrogen bomb had been remarkable. No one knew exactly what it was but there was general agreement that the difference between the Soviet Union and the USA in this respect was not great. Further, that the scientific advance of the Soviet Union was rapid and they had some of the best brains in the world. The agricultural situation, undoubtedly, had worried the Soviet Government because of bad harvests and other reasons, but this was nothing very serious. There was little doubt that the Soviet Government and structure was as stable as any in the world.

14. What then was this due to? I think it is fundamentally due not to any particular individual, although individuals count, but to the inevitable causes which come into operation after a great Revolution and the desire to settle down and live normal lives. It was basically due to the new generation that had grown up in the Soviet Union which had no personal experience of the Revolution and did not possess the rigidity of the old guard. This new generation was essentially of the engineer, technical type interested in building and construction, as well as, of course, in the good things of life. There was a desire for a lessening of tension in their individual lives and in not having to live continuously at a high pitch of effort. Probably there was a wish also to have a larger measure of individual freedom. It must be remembered that the people of Russia never had in Czarist days, or subsequently, the type of individual freedom and civil liberties which western Europe and other countries gradually developed in the course of long struggles against kings and nobles. The Soviet Union was a tremendous war machine, but even this war machine

3. At Soviet suggestion negotiations for a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan opened in London on 1 June 1955. The main points of Soviet proposals were: (1) Japan should relinquish all claims to the Kurile islands, South Sakhalin, Hubomal islands, Shikotan and she should not join any military alliance against any country which took part in the War against Japan; (2) USSR would renounce claims to reparations and support Japan's admission to the UN; (3) both countries should sign a mutual non-aggression pact and follow the principle of non-interference in each other's domestic affairs; (4) trade agreements to be concluded after signing of the peace treaty. However, the talks broke off temporarily on 16 September 1955.

is not, I imagine, a purely war machine like the old German one. It is often engaged in civil works and construction and the line separating the military from the civil is not too marked. In a sense every young man is a bit of a soldier and has either served in the army or is likely to serve.

15. I mentioned in my previous note how keen people in Russia are to read and to read serious and classical books. This reading habit is widespread. Reading, even though the literature available is somewhat limited in scope, makes people think. No autocracy or authoritarian form of government can subsist for long if the people are well educated and read a great deal. So, in spite of the great effect of the propaganda machine, people's minds begin to function in different directions. The only real limiting factor continued to be fear of war. In this the atomic and hydrogen bomb played their due part.

16. I have traced this development in some detail because I feel that it is basic and not superficial, provided no war comes. They have now entered at long last a phase of settling down after the tremendous tensions of war and cold war. There has been, I believe, a turn in the tide. This suddenly became evident at the Four Power Conference. That Conference decided nothing and merely gave some directions to the Foreign Ministers to discuss various subjects.<sup>4</sup> And yet, the Four Power Conference did a tremendous deal in lessening world tension and removing the spectre of war. Oddly enough, the two persons who stood out at this Four Power Conference were President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Bulganin.

17. The Four Power Conference did not touch, at least formally, the Far East situation. There were, of course, private talks about it. This situation still remains the most dangerous one in the world. And yet, I have no doubt that even in the Far East the distant effects of the Four Power Conference had been felt and there is less fear of a conflict. The meeting of the American and the Chinese Ambassadors, which is to begin at Geneva on August 1st, is not important in itself and the terms of reference are most inadequate. But viewed in the larger context, it assumes significance. Even if the real problems in the Formosa Straits are not discussed, and they are not likely to be discussed in Geneva at this stage, this Conference may well lead to some steps forward. We have just had the good news from China that the American airmen there are being released. India has been working for this for many months and her efforts have at last met with success. These releases do not touch the main issue, but they help in lessening tensions and in creating an atmosphere for negotiations. In the Formosa Straits, it is essential that, as a first step, the coastal islands of Quemoy and Matsu should be evacuated.

4. On 23 July, the Four Heads of Governments instructed their Foreign Ministers to meet in Geneva in October 1955 to "propose effective means" to achieve European security and German unification, disarmament, and good relations between East and West.



18. Broadly speaking, the two major problems in so far as the world situation is concerned, are those of Germany in Europe and the complex of Far Eastern problems—Korea, Formosa and Indo-China. Because of various developments in Europe, more especially in Germany, the Western bloc is in a relatively stronger position compared to the Soviet bloc. In the Far East, however, this position is reversed and China and her allies are in a relatively stronger position both politically and militarily, chiefly because of geography. Because of this, the United States is anxious to give priority to the German problem and to leave the Far Eastern problem untouched, hoping for something to happen in the course of the next few years. It is hardly conceivable, however, that the position in the Far East can be left as it is for any length of time. It is possible, however, that if the coastal islands, Quemoy and Matsu, are handed over to China peacefully, then the situation in the Far East will tone down and cease to be one of acute tension. The problem will remain, but it can be dealt with at some leisure. It is quite possible that the Formosan problem will tend to solve itself by Chiang Kai-shek and his group gradually fading out. The ultimate solution can only be for Formosa or Taiwan to go to China. No Chinese Government can tolerate a hostile power in Formosa and both history and cultural contacts support the Chinese claim. The great majority of the Formosans are Chinese-speaking people from the Fukien Province of China. Very probably, the Formosans would like some kind of self-government and it is conceivable that when they become part of the Chinese State, a measure of autonomy might be granted to them.

19. The only practical course at present in regard to Formosa, therefore, is that the coastal islands should be evacuated by the Chiang Kai-shek forces and peacefully transferred to the People's Government of China. This is the course advocated by the UK Government and some other Governments, and it is in this direction that India's efforts have been directed in our informal talks in Peking, London, Ottawa and Washington. Washington has resisted this because of its alliance with Chiang Kai-shek. But even that alliance is not really affected by Quemoy and Matsu being handed over. The real result of this handing over would be a loss in Chiang Kai-shek's prestige and morale. If world tensions continue to decrease, one may look forward to this process of transfer of Quemoy and Matsu to China, though one should not underestimate the difficulties ahead as there are powerful Chiang Kai-shek lobbies in America.

20. A very important aspect of the Far Eastern problem is the inclusion of the People's Government of China in the United Nations as well as in the Security Council. The United States have all along taken a very strong attitude opposing this, but world opinion has veered round considerably in this matter. At the tenth anniversary session of the United Nations in San Francisco in June last, there were many favourable references to the inclusion of China

even from those who had opposed it in the past.<sup>5</sup> One may expect, therefore, some step forward in this direction, possibly at the next meeting of the United Nations in September/October. The real difficulty now in the mind of US leaders is not the positive aspect of the inclusion of the People's Government of China, but rather the exclusion of Chiang Kai-shek. Informally, suggestions have been made by the United States that China should be taken into the United Nations but not in the Security Council and that India should take her place in the Security Council. We cannot of course accept this as it means falling out with China and it would be very unfair for a great country like China not to be in the Security Council. We have, therefore, made it clear to those who suggested this that we cannot agree to this suggestion. We have even gone a little further and said that India is not anxious to enter the Security Council at this stage, even though as a great country she ought to be there. The first step to be taken is for China to take her rightful place and then the question of India might be considered separately.

21. At this tenth anniversary session of the United Nations in San Francisco, there was another interesting development. Mr Spaak<sup>6</sup> of Belgium, who has been a leading exponent of the United States policy in Europe and has a great reputation among European statesmen, urged that, in view of the change in the USSR, the necessity of coexistence with the communism must be recognized.

22. The German question appears to be completely intractable at present, and there is no meeting ground between the two great power blocs. Neither side wants to break this deadlock till some of their preliminary aims are achieved. The Western bloc, and more especially the United States, are anxious to rearm Germany both as a measure of protection against any possible Soviet attack and in order to influence world problems through Europe and the German armed forces. In other words, they want to weaken the position of their opponents through Germany and thereby influence even the situation in Asia. On the Soviet side, as I have stated above, the fear of an armed Germany is great. If Western Germany is to be armed, then they will not give up East Germany and may possibly arm it also. This means the continued division of Germany into two parts. It is admitted on all hands that there can be little peace in Europe with this division continuing.

23. This is the crux of the problem and, in spite of soft words, neither side is prepared to give up its basic position. It is recognized, however, now in the Western countries that the Soviet fear of an armed Germany has justification

5. For example, Harold Macmillan made a plea for inclusion of China "if UN is to fulfil its true destiny."

6. Paul-Henri Spaak, Foreign Minister of Belgium.



and, therefore, some measures of security for the Soviets should also be devised. Sir Anthony Eden made some proposals to this effect in the Four Power Conference,<sup>7</sup> but they did not go far enough and were not accepted. The Soviet conception of a neutral united Germany was not acceptable to the West and, for all practical purposes, cannot be considered feasible now. Indeed, it is unrealistic to think of Germany as a passive neutral country. Sweden or Switzerland or Austria may well be neutral, but a vital and powerful country like Germany cannot be passive. Marshal Tito told me, and there is much evidence to this effect, that there are still aggressive tendencies in sections of the German people. He said that Germans had not yet learnt much from their past experiences and Fascism and Nazism had not been uprooted. Among many Germans, there was still the idea of *Deutschland uber alles*.<sup>8</sup> It is true, however, that there are powerful peace forces in Germany also. The Soviet idea practically amounts to two armed blocs and a disarmed Germany. This is wholly unacceptable to the West, as it means weakening the Western armed bloc.

24. It would appear, therefore, that there is no present solution of the German problem except in some much wider context. Chancellor Adenauer's reply to the Soviet invitation was a very aggressive one and he laid down conditions which were obviously unacceptable to the Soviets.<sup>9</sup> Probably these conditions were not final and some way out will be found for Adenauer to go to Moscow later. Adenauer's reply was sent after full consultation with the US and, as Adenauer himself has said, under the impression that the Soviet was becoming weak. The question of Germany thus becomes tied up with the bigger question of evolving a system of security in Europe which will give assurance against Soviet aggression and also assurance against German aggression. In effect, even a system of European security is not enough. It has to be on a basis of world security and that again has to be based on a considerable measure of disarmament. Thus, the German problem and the question of security and disarmament are all tied up together. There can be no security without settling the German problem and no settling the German problem without adequate security.

7. Eden had suggested: (1) unification of Germany and a security pact between all Four Powers against aggression from any Power "whoever it be with a United Germany a member of this pact." (2) reciprocal control of and supervision over the arms and forces on either side of Germany, and (3) a possibility of a demilitarized area between East and West.

8. Germany above all.

9. In his reply on 30 June, Adenauer insisted on prior agreement on discussion of subject like the release of the German prisoners of war before his agreeing to go to Moscow for talks.

25. President Eisenhower has often referred to the liberation of the East European countries which are under Soviet domination or influence and Chancellor Adenauer in his reply to the Soviets made it quite clear that he would not recognize East Germany. I cannot give any firm opinion about conditions in these East European States, that is, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia and Lithuania. I visited Poland and Czechoslovakia and I have already indicated in my previous note that Czechoslovakia seemed to me a very unhappy country while Poland produced a different impression upon me. I have no knowledge of the other Eastern countries. Broadly speaking, one may say that Poland, though somewhat dependent upon the Soviet Union, is much more independent and nationalistic than Czechoslovakia. It is too big a country to be easily dominated over. But whether these countries are strong or weak, it seems exceedingly unlikely that any change will come to them by external pressure, apart from war and its results. In fact, the whole idea of "liberating" them, as expressed in America, really makes it more difficult for any changes to come there peacefully. The Soviet Union will resist to the utmost any pressure tactics in regard to these States because if they go outside its influence, this will endanger the Soviet Union's security. It is possible however, and indeed probable, that if there is a marked improvement in world tensions and the cold war ceases, then internal developments and changes will take place in these East European States. The Soviet may well withdraw its armies where they exist and its political domination will also become less, though its influence will remain.

26. We have to consider these States from two points of view—that of political influence and secondly of the social structure there. While the political influence of the Soviet Union is likely to lessen progressively, if all goes well, and each of these countries becomes more self-conscious and self-reliant, the question of changing the economic and social structure there and reverting to the capitalist system will be fiercely resisted. Gradually, changes even in the economic structure may take place within the larger ambit of the socialist system. Even now some changes have taken place because of pressure of circumstances and there has been a slight retreat from communist doctrine, more especially in regard to land. In Czechoslovakia I was told that it was their fixed policy not to compel peasants to collectivize and that there were a very large number of individual farmers there. I was told by the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia that out of 7.2 million hectares under cultivation, only 475,000 hectares were under State farms and the rest were owned by individual farmers. The limit for a holding prescribed by law was fifty hectares. Czechoslovakia had a marked deficit in agriculture. This is partly due to the fact that the land vacated by the Sudetan Germans is still lying uncultivated. In Czechoslovakia, as elsewhere in the communist countries, there was a much greater emphasis on heavy industry,



chiefly because of defence requirements. We were told that there had been a twelve per cent increase per year in the national income during the past five years. Fifteen per cent of the national income, we were informed, was used for fresh investments. The entire wholesale trade was in the hands of Government. Retail trade was carried on either through Government shops or community-owned shops. Prime Minister Siroky of Czechoslovakia admitted that present conditions left much to be desired and that maintenance of peace was essential to enable the standard of living to be raised.

27. Thus, if war is to be avoided, as it must be, and the "cold war" to end, certain steps become necessary: (1) in the Far East, Quemoy and Matsu should go to China, (2) in Europe, no attempt should be made by external pressure to change the present alliances of the Eastern European States, (3) the question of the unification of Germany should be considered in the context of European and world security, and (4) there should be progressive and considerable disarmament. One cannot expect all this to happen suddenly or in the near future. But it may well take place step by step. Meanwhile, it is necessary to put an end to all kinds of iron curtains and trade embargoes and encourage freer intercourse between these countries which have been opposed to each other. This will lead to a return to normality, less excitement and tension, and a greater understanding of the other's viewpoint and fears. These processes may be said to have begun in a small way already. They have a long way to go, but this turn in the tide of human events is significant and holds out, for the first time in many years, a prospect of some hope.

28. If normal relations are restored between these opposing countries, each will somewhat influence the other. In the Soviet Union and other communist countries, there will probably be a lessening of restrictions on individual freedom, and a greater measure of political democracy will probably creep in, without any marked change in the Constitution itself. The economic structure will undoubtedly remain, but it will function in a somewhat different atmosphere. More emphasis will be laid on the production of consumer goods and the raising of the standard of living. In view of the great development of heavy industries in the Soviet Union, this shift-over may well lead to a very rapid extension of light industries and the production of consumer goods. The industrial base is there, and only the direction of the productive apparatus has to be changed.

29. As compared with the other communist countries, the Soviet Union is not only the oldest but the most firmly established and is developing a certain maturity about its political and economic structure which comes with age. It possesses strength also, and, therefore, there is going to be an increasing tendency there for settling down and not having adventures. China, on the other hand, though basically more peaceful than European countries has not

yet come out of its revolutionary phase. It is, therefore, often a little more rigid in its international dealings.

30. What is going to be the future of what is called international communism? If there is this progressive approach to normality in international relationship, there can be no doubt that communism will cease to function as the agent and political ally of the communist countries in non-communist countries. It will tend to become a local movement or party in other countries with greater or less strength, according to the political and economic conditions of the country. The central direction of an organization like the Comintern or Cominform will fade away. I imagine that the Cominform itself will soon cease to function though of course, that does not necessarily mean that other methods might not be adopted to exercise that type of influence. But I feel certain that the stress in future is going to be on peaceful coexistence and non-interference. Communist countries, like the Soviet Union especially and to some extent China, will endeavour to prove by their internal development that their system is superior to the capitalist or any like system elsewhere. They will not seek to impose themselves either politically or economically upon others. It is difficult to prophesy about the future because great countries tend to be expansive in various ways. This applies today both to the Soviet Union and to the United States of America, though in different ways. But scientific and technological developments, leading to the hydrogen bomb, have brought about a basic change in people's thinking and this may even affect the expansiveness of the great and powerful countries and turn their thinking to other ways of world development which are easily possible today because of this very technological advance.

31. In this developing world situation circumstances, aided by our own policy, have thrust upon India a special position. To some extent, Burma also occupies that special position. There can be no doubt that these two countries have, by their independent policies and their attempt to be friendly with all nations, helped somewhat in easing tensions and in bringing opponents nearer to each other. The changes that are coming over the Soviet Union are making the people, and even the Government there, a little more receptive to outside influences, provided always that these are friendly. India can thus play a worthwhile part in the future also if she adheres to her present policy and, at the same time, does not try to push herself anywhere. Apart from being rather unbecoming, this attempt to push creates a bad impression among others. Therefore, we have to function quietly and modestly and not seek to be acclaimed for what we do. If we act rightly, the appreciation of others will naturally come to us.

32. Yugoslavia in Europe has gradually come round to a policy very similar to ours. But its position has been and is a very different one. It was in grave danger during the past few years from the Soviet blockade. It looked towards



the Western Powers, and especially the United States, for help. It got all this assistance in abundant measure both for military and civil purposes. Recent developments, however, and the reconciliation of Yugoslavia with the Soviet Union has not been looked upon with favour by the United States of America. There has been much pressure on Yugoslavia from both sides for her to give up her neutral position. On the Western side there has been an increasing pressure for Yugoslavia to join the Atlantic Pact and strengthen the Balkan Alliance<sup>10</sup> in its military aspect. The Prime Minister of Turkey visited Yugoslavia with this purpose in view and there was a sharp conflict of opinion between the two. Yugoslavia refused to be dragged into the military set up of the West or in the Balkans, although she has close economic and cultural relations in the Balkans and wants to continue them. The Soviet, on the other hand, have been bringing pressure on Yugoslavia to get her back into their fold and to line up, as is said, with "the camp of peace and socialism".

33. But Yugoslavia has consistently resisted these pressures from both sides and clung to her independent policy and is not lining up in a military sense with the Western or the Soviet bloc. She feels, I think quite rightly, that she can help the cause of peace and reconciliation in this way. Nevertheless, the pressures continue. Some forms of aid were stopped by the United States, including some armaments which were greatly needed by Yugoslavia, in order to exorcise this pressure. This was even before the visit of the Soviet Prime Minister to Yugoslavia. When, however, it was known that this high-level Soviet group was going to Yugoslavia, the aid from the United States started again. Nevertheless, Yugoslavia is in a very delicate and difficult position and it is highly likely that military aid from Western countries will stop and civil aid might be reduced. This will naturally affect the economy of Yugoslavia, but Marshal Tito was quite clear that he would not accept any aid at the cost of giving up his independent policy.

34. Marshal Tito was naturally interested in the Arab and Middle Eastern position and disapproved of the military pact between Turkey and Iraq which later Pakistan joined. Yugoslavia's influence had some effect in preventing Syria from joining this pact. It is likely that soon Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia will come to an agreement not to join any other bloc without consulting each other. This will be a defeat for Western, and chiefly British diplomacy who have been pressing Egypt and Syria to join their military set up in the Middle East.

35. In the course of my stay in Moscow, I had an interesting talk with Saburov, the Chairman of the Gosplan as well as some of his leading planners.

10. The Balkan Pact was signed on 9 August 1954 between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia for ensuring peace, security and development of the region.

A two-hour talk was not enough and barely covered the questions I had in mind. In the main, I wanted to understand what the Soviet planners were doing. Saburov explained to me that the Soviet Government had split up their Planning Commission and made it into two Commissions, one dealing with current planning and the other with long-term planning. He said that experience had shown that those engaged in current planning could not adequately cope with the problems of long-term planning. Therefore, it had been decided to relieve the long-term planners from current work. The new Chairman of the long-term Planning Commission was Baibakov<sup>11</sup> and of the current plan, Saburov. The two Commissions worked together and complemented each other.

36. In the long-term plan, they were thinking of not only a Five Year Plan but ten and even fifteen years ahead. They tried to find out how other advanced countries were progressing, what the speed of their development was and where they would be, say fifteen years hence. They were anxious not only to overtake them but to surpass them. From these comparisons, they drew their own conclusions as to what they should or should not do in their own long-term planning. Saburov said that the USSR had all the necessary requisites, such as resources and people. All that it wanted was peace and non-interference to fulfil the task they had set for themselves.

37. Five Year Plans were prepared on an approximate basis by the long-term Planning Commission which also dealt with the development of particular industries which had to be planned on a long term basis. Thus, the development of power was planning on a ten to fifteen year basis. Such a plan over a long period could not be very precise or detailed. But it helped in working out the Five Year Plans. The long-term Planning Commission also dealt with the development of production not only in different branches of industry but also on a territorial basis for the different Republics. In these different Republics, the Five Year or one year plans were drawn up on the basis of the common tasks decided upon at the All-Union level. These drafts were discussed and finalized later at the All-Union level. The Plan gave figures not only of the country as a whole but also for each individual Republic. The sum of capital investment was allocated among the various Republics and their Ministries. Actual details were worked out by the Republics themselves. Generally speaking, such matters as electrical energy, coal, oil, cotton and steel, were dealt with by the Union Government, while local industry and questions relating to management, etc., were dealt with at the Republican level. Help was given to the Republics from the Centre.

11. N.K. Baibakov (b. 1911); oil mining engineer; Soviet Commissar for Oil, 1940-46, Minister, 1948-55; Chairman, State Planning Committee, 1955-58, 1983-85; Vice-Chairman, Council of Ministers, 1965-85.



38. The current Planning Commission prepared the annual plan of the national economy. This was a detailed plan based on the broad Five Year Plan. Both the Five Year and the annual plans were fully discussed before being finally approved but once a decision had been taken, then the plan became a directive and a law which had to be acted upon. Normally, the annual plan was a fixed plan and not subject to change. But, if in the course of implementing it, any new conditions had to be considered, adjustments were made.

39. Saburov said that the plans were often over-fulfilled. I enquired from him if over-fulfilment in one sector did not lead to an upsetting of the plan in other sectors. Saburov admitted that this was so. However carefully the plans were prepared, they could not be absolutely precise. If there was over-fulfilment, this would lead to the demand for extra fuel or raw material or energy and emergency measures would have to be adopted to meet these new demands in order to balance the economy.

40. I discussed with him the balance between heavy industry and light industry and agriculture, keeping in view the increasing population. He said that these developments were not contradictory to each other. They had however relied chiefly on heavy industry, because this was the base from which other industries could grow. Also that heavy industry could be controlled whereas agriculture so much depended upon climate and no one could be sure. The development of heavy industry resulted in the shortage of hands in the rural areas and this could only be met by mechanization of agriculture, which in turn could only be done by development of heavy industry. I was told that the agricultural population of the Soviet Union was roughly fifty per cent of the total population at the time. The other fifty per cent were engaged in all branches of industry. Of this latter fifty per cent, ten per cent were engaged in machine tractor stations and in State farms. Thus the total number of people engaged in agriculture exceeded half the population. Industry, including transport and construction, engaged somewhat less than one-third of the total population. I enquired if the workers did not have more purchasing power than they could use. Saburov said that this was so at times due to shortage of production in some industry or other. This purchasing power went into the saving accounts or was diverted to other channels. The Soviet Government did now allow inflation and if necessary the shortage of goods was met by imports.

41. I enquired about decentralization. Saburov said that a few months earlier a decision had been taken to give wider powers to the Ministries and greater initiative to the heads of various plants, collective farms, etc. The broad targets were laid down and the details were left to be worked out by the Ministry or the head of the plant or collective farm.

42. I enquired about the position of the Communist Party in relation to planning and its implementation. Saburov said that according to their Constitution the Party was the leader of the people and had worked out the

basic ideas and principles. The recommendations of the Party were discussed by public bodies and the Government considered them in drafting its plans. The Party was even more useful in the implementation of the plans at all stages. Its chief business was to give an overall guidance without going into details.

43. I mentioned to Saburov the Yugoslav system of Workers' Councils. Saburov replied that they had tried this in the Soviet Union at one time, but now it was past history. Their experience had shown that there must be a clear-cut division of functions and responsibility. This was necessary for effective direction.

44. Saburov said in answer to a question of mine that the question of defence had played an important part in planning. If there had not been a continuous threat of invasion from outside, then far greater resources would have been directed towards the raising of the standard of living of the people. Between 1914 and 1955, twenty years had been wasted either in war or in the rehabilitation of the war-devastated economy. It took five years to repair the damages caused by the last War. The Soviet Union did not want this to happen again and wanted to devote itself to peaceful progress.

45. Saburov concluded by saying that as the planning in India was proceeding on a different basis, it was quite possible that a situation might arise in which the Soviet Union might be able to learn a great deal from India.

## II. BHUTAN AND SIKKIM

### 1. Relations with Bhutan<sup>1</sup>

I have read these papers. I have previously expressed my views in regard to Bhutan on a note by FS. These views were that we should not press for Indian

1. Note to the Secretary General and Foreign Secretary, MEA, 10 June 1955. JN Collection.



representation there in Bhutan, and generally we should not push ourselves there. The initiative should come from the Bhutan Government for any help, etc.

2. I do not think we need worry about the question of foreign representation. If and when this question arises, we shall deal with it. Obviously it will require careful handling and we cannot, at this stage, certainly approve of the idea of foreign representatives in Bhutan. But nothing will be said about this.<sup>2</sup>

3. We should not object to Bhutan being shown outside our international boundary. If this question is raised, we can explain to the Bhutanese Government that we are prepared to mark the boundary differently. Again we should not take the initiative in this matter.

4. For anyone in Bhutan to talk about corruption and inefficiency in the Government of India is, to say the least of it, high presumption. I suppose one or two Advisers of the Bhutan Maharaja indulge in this kind of talk.

5. We should certainly not encourage Bhutan to get some kind of sovereign and independent international status. On the other hand, we should not refer to this either in any way.

6. We need not worry very much about the terms of our Treaty. We accept it as it is, and we act accordingly.

2. Bhutan had agreed to be guided by the advice of India in her external relations under the Indo-Bhutan Treaty of 1949.

## 2. Approach to Bhutanese Problems<sup>1</sup>

I have read this report by the Foreign Secretary about his visit to Bhutan<sup>2</sup> and found it very interesting and instructive. I agree with his main conclusions and, more especially, that our approach to the Bhutanese problems should be somewhat varied in emphasis. I think he is right in suggesting that we should give up the idea of pressing for closer political contacts or of asking for a Political Agent in Bhutan.<sup>3</sup> We should concentrate more on the social and economic approach.<sup>4</sup>

2. I have no doubt that D.K. Sen<sup>5</sup> is their principal adviser on political matters and D.K. Sen's advice is seldom likely to be in favour of India. However, quite apart from D.K. Sen and his advice, we should lay greater emphasis on the social and economic side. Even there, there should be no attempt at any imposition. Help should be given when asked for and not thrust upon Bhutan.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary. MEA, 15 July 1955. JN Collection.
2. R.K. Nehru, the Foreign Secretary, and some other officials visited Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan from 6 June to 2 July 1955. It took them four days from Tibet-Bhutan border to reach Paro in western Bhutan where the Maharaja received them for a four and a half days' stay till 23 June, and the Foreign Secretary submitted his report on the tour and his talks with the Maharaja and Jigme Dorji, the Prime Minister, on 5 July 1955.
3. RK Nehru had commented that Bhutan had not accepted India's demand for a resident Political Agent there because of her concern about safeguarding her status which was higher than that of Sikkim, as the stationing of a Political Agent was the old British method of bringing a country under control. Jigme Dorji, however, had told him that some time later they might agree to this appointment when they had a fixed capital. At this time, the Maharaja, with the entire governmental machinery, moved from valley to valley to maintain his hold on the administration.
4. Suggesting closer relation with Bhutan through social and economic channels, he had commented on monarchy, administration, proposals for framing a constitution and codifying the civil and criminal laws and land reforms in Bhutan. He also mentioned the problems of development of communications, economic survey, training of medical personnel, learning of languages especially of Hindi language and monasteries. He also commented on the conflict between the Bhutanese and the Nepalese who were confined to the southern terai of Bhutan and were regarded as foreigners. They were not allowed to go to the North, not represented in the Militia, in the council or in the assembly, which assisted the Maharaja.
5. Adviser to the Bhutan Government.



3. The principal help that I envisage is to give opportunities to the Bhutanese for training in India. This training can be for:-

- (1) survey work;
- (2) medical and health;
- (3) Hindi language and general education;
- (4) engineering;
- (5) any other that is suggested might be considered.

4. If they require some persons from India to help them in any of these activities or training, we should try to send to them such persons. But the initiative should come from them.

5. I do not know how far efforts to study the flood problem have gone. This is important for us.

6. It is certainly desirable for the Maharaja and the Maharani as well as others in Bhutan to visit India and to see the work being done here.

7. I should myself like to go to Bhutan, but at the moment I do not know when I can do so. Presumably, it will have to be in summer time. This summer is out of the question.

8. I am thinking of writing a letter to the Maharaja.<sup>6</sup> In the course of this letter I could mention the Foreign Secretary's visit and my own desire to go to Bhutan to pay the Maharaja a visit. Will Foreign Secretary indicate any points that I might mention in this letter.

9. A copy of this note might be sent to Shri Apa Pant.<sup>7</sup>

6. See the next item.

7. Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan with control over Indian Mission in Tibet.

### 3. To Maharaja of Bhutan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
16 July 1955

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

I have just returned from a long tour abroad. On my return, I received a report from our Foreign Secretary, R.K. Nehru, about his visit to Bhutan. I was naturally interested in his report and was happy to read his account of his visit. May I express my gratitude to you for the courtesy and hospitality which you gave to our party.

As I told you when you were here<sup>2</sup> and were good enough to invite me to visit Bhutan, I would very much like to go there. My difficulty is how to find the time for it. But the attraction of visiting Bhutan and meeting Your Highness again is great and perhaps sometimes or other I shall manage to reach there. I fear it cannot be this year.

I hope, however, that you and the Maharani will visit us again. It is always a pleasure to meet you both. Apart from this, we would welcome your visiting many of our projects which I am sure will be of interest to you. We are engaged, as you no doubt know, in a great effort to build up our country. Having nearly come to the end of the our First Five Year Plan, we are now preparing the Second Five Year Plan which is likely to be much more ambitious. In this, we are laying greater stress on heavy industry and, at the same time, on village or household industries. One of the developments in India which I consider most important and which is nearest my heart, is the Community Project Scheme and the National Extension Service for rural areas. This affects our vast rural population. It has already spread to about a hundred thousand villages and has brought about a remarkable change there. I am sure this will interest you as it is particularly applicable to underdeveloped countries.

I have recently learnt about the land reforms which Your Highness has introduced.<sup>3</sup> I am very happy to learn of this because land reforms form an essential foundation for progress in other directions. I am glad also that you are promoting education and health services.

Sometimes ago, we approached Your Highness' Government about the

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Foreign Secretary.
2. Maharaja Jigme Dorji Wangchuk visited India in January 1954 and participated in the Republic Day celebrations.
3. He put a ceiling of thirty acres on large landholdings, distributed his own lands to his subjects, made the land revenue equitable and abolished it altogether in case of poor farmers with smaller holdings. The land tax accounted for three-fourths of the total revenue of Rs fifty lakh, paid mostly in kind. The Maharaja was trying to persuade the peasants to convert it into a cash payment.



question of flood control which is troubling us greatly. I am glad that an agreement has been reached about this matter and that your Government will cooperate with our Government in this joint task.<sup>4</sup> I need not tell you that we shall always be happy to help Your Highness by sending technicians or experts to Bhutan whenever they are needed. An even more effective method of helping will be to train Bhutanese young men and women in our institutes in India.

With all good wishes to you and to the Maharani.

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. R.K. Nehru had reported on 5 July that an agreement between the two Governments had been reached about the initial steps to be taken in this regard. Accordingly, flood control stations were opened at various places and the Bhutanese staff trained.

#### 4. Policy towards Bhutan<sup>1</sup>

I have read this note by Shri Panikkar and I agree with him.<sup>2</sup>

2. I think we need not worry at all about Chinese or Tibetan claims on Bhutan or Nepal.<sup>3</sup> Whatever might have happened in the past, and there is hardly anything that has happened to support these claims, I cannot imagine any such claims being advanced now. Our policy of course should be the positive policy of friendship with these areas and contacts and help.

3. Therefore, as we have said before, we must give no impression to the Bhutan Government that we have any desire to have political or other control over it. We should not push our men there and it is only when they want any help that we should send it.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 17 July 1955. JN Collection.
2. On 16 July, K.M. Panikkar, Member, States Reorganisation Commission and former Ambassador to China, had sent his observations on a note on Bhutan written by R.K. Nehru on 5 July 1955.
3. R.K. Nehru had written that the Chinese claimed, last in 1910 and repeated in 1948 through the Tibetan Kashag, that Bhutan was their vassal state and "we cannot have special relations with Bhutan without their concurrence". They gave transit visas to the Indian party but took no special notice of the official visit to Bhutan. Panikkar's view was that though the situation required careful handling there was no serious danger of the Chinese putting forward any claim to suzerainty over Bhutan.

4. You mentioned that the chief help they want is financial help. I would not rule this out. But if this question is raised, it would be better, I think, to give them some financial credit here for purchases in India. However, this question does not arise now.

5. I entirely agree with Shri Panikkar's suggestion for the opening of a high level Hindi school in Kalimpong.<sup>4</sup> I suppose Kalimpong would be the most suitable place for it. This should cater especially for the Sikkimese and the Bhutanese. But it should also invite tribal folk from the surrounding areas. This school should, I think, also encourage the teaching of Tibetan and Bhutanese languages for our people. It may have a section attached to it for this purpose. Also, as Shri Panikkar has said, there might be a small polytechnic attached. The school should be directly under the Central Government who should finance it. I suggest that you might put up a note to this effect and send it to the Education Ministry, with the suggestion that the Education Ministry, after considering the proposal and vetting it, might put up before the Cabinet as a special case.

6. It might be desirable to send a copy of that note or the substance of it to the West Bengal Government for their views.

4. R.K. Nehru commented on 17 July 1955: "Hindi is a source of strength to us and we must treat it as an instrument for projecting the Centre's influence in our border areas."

## 5. Proposal for an Institute in Sikkim<sup>1</sup>

In some of the recent papers put before me in regard to Bhutan (I think it was Shri Panikkar's note), it was suggested that we might start some kind of an institute in Kalimpong, more especially devoted to persons of Tibetan stock. I agreed with this general proposal and suggested that it might be worked out. Also, that the Government of West Bengal might be consulted.

2. I had a talk with the Maharajkumar of Sikkim<sup>2</sup> today as well as Dr B.C. Roy. The Maharajkumar suggested that a research institute for Tibetan, more especially with Buddhist books from Tibet should be started by the Government

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Joint Secretary, MEA, 25 July 1955. JN Collection.

2. Palden Thondup Namgyal.



of India at Gangtok. Apparently, there is an old tradition which says that learning will travel from Tibet to Sikkim and find a home there.

3. Dr Roy mentioned that the Government of West Bengal intended starting a university at Darjeeling, and he suggested that this research institute could well be attached to that university, even though it might have a separate habitat at Gangtok.

4. Thereupon I told him about our own proposal which was somewhat different but which could perhaps be associated with these other proposals.

5. I am sending this note so that our own proposal might be considered in connection with these proposals.

### III. NEPAL

#### 1. Cable to Bhagwan Sahay<sup>1</sup>

I have read your letter and note of May 29th. Also your subsequent telegrams.

2. It was my intention to send a message to the King before my departure. But on reconsideration I have decided not to do so at present.

3. It seems to me, however, that prospect of K.I. Singh's return<sup>2</sup> makes it even more essential than otherwise for the King to take some action in forming Government.<sup>3</sup> After K.I. Singh's return, new problems and difficulties are likely to arise.

1. New Delhi, 4 June 1955. JN Collection.

Bhagwan Sahay was Indian Ambassador in Nepal.

2. K.I. Singh, a medical practitioner from western terai, had attempted an unsuccessful coup in Nepal in January 1952. He escaped to China through Tibet and took political asylum there. King Mahendra granted him amnesty and he returned to Nepal in September 1955.

3. To assert his control over the state machinery, King Mahendra appointed a five-member Council of Royal Advisers on 14 April 1955 and took steps to tone up the administration which were criticized as undemocratic and reactionary by the political parties. He called a conference of all political, social and cultural organizations at the royal palace from 8 to 17 May 1955 which was boycotted by the Nepali Congress, the Nepali Rashtriya Congress, the Praja Parishad and the Rashtriya Praja Party. The major points, which emerged after the deliberations, were: (1) termination of the direct rule, (2) dissolution of the Advisory Council, (3) restoration of democratic system, and (4) holding of general elections at the earliest. The King dissolved the Advisory Council on 10 June 1955 and initiated a series of consultations with the political parties.

4. I trust your judgement to advise the King and deal with the situation in the manner you think best.

## 2. To Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17 July 1955

My dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of July 14 1955, which our Ambassador, Shri Bhagwan Sahay, handed to me yesterday. I am also grateful to you for the note you have attached to your letter.

2. I have had a talk with Shri Bhagwan Sahay and, before he returns to Nepal, I shall have further talks with him. I am glad to learn from Your Majesty's letter that our Ambassador has been of some help to you. I have previously told him that his main function is to help you and Nepal in every way. We realise the great difficulties that you have to face and it is our earnest desire to be of assistance to you in such ways as may be possible to us and to you. Shri Bhagwan Sahay is a man of much varied experience on whose judgement I greatly rely.

3. I hope you will not hesitate at any time to write to me should you think that I can be of help in any way. Indeed, we would welcome your visit to Delhi which would enable both of us to have a full and frank talk. You can rest assured that whenever you choose to come here, you will be given a warm welcome.

4. You have referred to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Chinese Government. I understand that the Chinese Ambassador in Delhi will be visiting Kathmandu for this purpose and presumably will be the Minister accredited to your Government. If we can be of help to you in this matter, our services are of course at your disposal.<sup>2</sup>

5. I am glad to learn from your letter of the various steps you have taken to improve the situation in Nepal and the success that has attended these

1. JN Collection.

2. Yuan Chung-hsien, the Chinese Ambassador in Delhi, in late July 1955 headed a six-man delegation to Kathmandu for talks and after five days of secret negotiations an agreement was reached on 1 August calling for diplomatic relations between two States based on *Panch Shila* and the Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi was accredited to Nepal but a resident embassy was not established in Kathmandu at this time.



steps. Much, of course, remains to be done. In all countries which are essentially agricultural as Nepal is, one of the most important problems is the reform of the land system. I am sure that Your Majesty is giving thought to this matter. It is right that it should be considered fully by a Commission which you have appointed. I hope that the Commission will be able to expedite its report. Perhaps the proposals might consist of some progressive steps to be taken and an initial step can be taken fairly soon, with others to follow. Any such step would, I have no doubt, produce an excellent impression on the peasantry of Nepal which forms a very great part of the total population.

6. Your Majesty has referred in your letter to the very important question of elections and has pointed out that you will have to announce it by the end of the month of *Sravana*.<sup>3</sup> You have been good enough to ask my opinion.

7. I have given some thought to this matter and have also consulted some friends here. I appreciate what you have written, that is, that full democracy with adult franchise in Nepal at present might lead to difficulties. As a matter of fact, even the machinery and procedure of elections, in the manner we have in India, is a very complicated and difficult affair. It is costly and it requires a very large number of trained people to look after polling booths and other machinery of the elections.

8. It seems to me patent that Nepal has not got at present the resources in trained personnel or in money to copy India in this respect. Some much simpler process must therefore be devised.

9. You have suggested that instead of adult franchise there might be a limited franchise. I think that this would not be wise and is likely to lead to trouble for you. It is safer from Your Majesty's point of view to base yourself on the people as a whole rather than on a limited number of them. If there is a limited franchise, probably what will happen is that certain reactionary elements on the one side and certain aggressive and irresponsible elements on the other will play a leading role in the elections. They will try to make capital of the fact that the franchise is limited and will attempt to gain the goodwill of those who have not got the franchise. In effect, Your Majesty may have to face the very troubles you are apprehensive of, but in a more acute form. There will be a continuous agitation against the limited franchise.

3. He announced on 8 August 1955 that Nepal's general elections would be held on the full moon day of October 1957.

10. How then is it possible to meet these various difficulties? I am inclined to think, and the more I think of it the more I am confirmed in this opinion, that your Parliament should be indirectly elected. That is to say that the primary elections should take place on the basis of adult franchise for the panchayats. Thereafter the panchayats should send their representatives to Parliament.

11. This method has many advantages. It will build up your panchayat system, the cost of elections to Parliament will be much cheaper and simpler, and each member of Parliament will be more responsible to the panchayats electing him and will thus have direct contacts with the people of a particular area.

12. I cannot go into any details of this matter of elections because they have to be carefully considered by Your Majesty and your advisers.

13. But I would suggest for your consideration that the primary elections to the panchayats on the basis of adult franchise might be a simple affair, as simple as it may be possible to make it consistent with the safeguarding of fairplay. The panchayats thus elected may not only function as panchayats but also as electoral bodies for the election of members of Parliament.

14. The next stage of election, that is, by the panchayats to Parliament, might be more precise and by secret voting.

15. Similar arrangements may be made for elections in urban areas. In place of panchayats there may be town councils. In a Parliament elected by the people it does not appear to be wise to provide for representation of any special interests as that leads to sectional and group thinking and behaviour. Of course, if any area or community is specially backward and needs protection for a limited period, that may be secured by the reservation of seats.

16. Your Majesty may, as suggested by you, call this an interim arrangement or a provisional constitution. The new Parliament would have a Cabinet form of Government. Any laws passed by it should be subject to Your Majesty's approval.

17. I have indicated briefly how my mind is working, so that Your Majesty may give thought to what I have said. If this general idea appeals to you, it can of course be worked out more carefully.

With all good wishes to Your Majesty,

I am,  
Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



### 3. Lumbini Scheme<sup>1</sup>

I do not know what telegram was sent to our Ambassador in Kathmandu about Lumbini.<sup>2</sup> The present position is that the team we sent there have put up a big scheme. This scheme involves the building of roads in India and Nepal upto Lumbini. Also I believe a bridge in India. These are costly undertakings. Then there is some kind of a park and some buildings etc.

The whole scheme is an expensive one and it will have to be carefully vetted and possibly given effect to in parts. The first thing we have to know is how far the Government of Nepal are interested in this scheme. We can come to no decision till we know what they feel about it.

I suggest that you send the following telegram to Bhagwan Sahay.

“Your telegram 28 July 30. Scheme in regard to Lumbini is provisional one involving construction of roads, chiefly in India, a bridge and laying down of a park round Lumbini with some necessary buildings. The whole scheme may undergo alteration in consultation with Nepal Government. We have to know first of all whether Nepal Government are agreeable to having a park round Lumbini and if they can provide the land for it. Secondly, if they can make a road from the border to Lumbini connecting with road on our side. Thirdly, what the Nepal Government's views are in regard to maintenance of park, tubewell and small buildings that might be put up. Would they like to maintain them themselves or prefer some joint organisation with India or leave it to us? Since Lumbini is in Nepal territory, it is obvious that we cannot even plan further without some indication of their wishes.

Apart from roads, the chief cost will be the tubewells and some small buildings. The buildings may even be left out to begin with, but tubewell would be necessary for gardens. We can share the cost or we can discuss this matter further.

Arrangements also can be discussed with Nepal Government. Obviously police arrangements will have to be Nepal's. Remaining arrangement would be chiefly for park and some essential sanitary works. The idea is not a temporary one but to have a permanent park with necessary accompaniments. We do not want this to be costly affair, but it should be decent and attractive. Later, additions may be made by consent.”

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 30 July 1955. JN Collection.

2. Birth place of Gautama Buddha.

## IV. PAKISTAN

1. Cable to Eugene R. Black<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message of June 4 regarding inter-governmental agreement establishing ad hoc arrangements for 1955.<sup>2</sup> We have examined the proposed agreement. Under this agreement Bhakra canals will receive very inadequate supplies during June and September 1955 involving serious hardship for our cultivators. However, in the interest of final settlement on the basis of the Bank proposal of February 1954<sup>3</sup> and as a gesture of our continued goodwill, we are prepared to make the sacrifice involved and accept the agreement as recommended by you. Our representative in the Indus Water discussions has accordingly been instructed to sign the agreement on our behalf. We trust that this will be the last year when withdrawals for Bhakra canals will have to be restricted.

May I take this opportunity of expressing our high appreciation of the efforts which are being made by the Bank to promote an amicable solution of this dispute.

1. New Delhi, 23 June 1955. File No. 38(20)-CWD/55, Vol. II, Ministry of Irrigation. A copy of this cable was sent to N. D. Gulhati, Indian representative in the Indus Water Discussions in Washington. Eugene R. Black was the President, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
2. The delegations of India and Pakistan negotiating in Washington under the auspices of the World Bank for a comprehensive plan for the use for irrigation of waters of the Indus system of rivers signed an agreement on 21 June 1955 for ad hoc transitional arrangements for the period from 1 April to 30 September 1955. After taking into account Pakistan's ability to transfer water in replacement from western rivers, the agreement established "agreed 'ad hoc' amounts" for additional withdrawals by India from the three eastern rivers (Ravi, Beas and Sutlej) during this specified period.
3. For details of the proposal and India's response, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 344-346.



## 2. Influx of Hindus from East Pakistan<sup>1</sup>

...Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir, the Deputy Minister<sup>2</sup> submitted a report to Government about it in which he gave his own analysis of the situation.<sup>3</sup> He mentioned a number of factors, the most important being the economic factor and a feeling of uncertainty among the minorities there about their future, due chiefly to the treatment that they were getting there. These are the major factors.

B.C. Ghose: On how many occasions in the past had these representations been made to the Government of Pakistan and the Pakistan Government had assured that the minorities would be duly protected and had also issued communiques to that effect, and what have been the effects thereafter?

JN: I cannot tell the honourable Member how many times this fact was brought to their notice. I suppose it must be a large number of times, both orally between Ministers and by correspondence, and naturally, whenever this was done, assurances were received. Sometimes, during this period there has been improvement—since 1950. It started in the main in 1950 and after what was called the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact<sup>4</sup> there was a considerable improvement in the situation. Many people went back. Now that position has deteriorated and in the course of the last one year, I think probably about nine or ten months, there has been a continuous stream.<sup>5</sup> Of course there has been, what might be called, no major incident in East Bengal, but the general conditions as such have deteriorated to such an extent, insofar as the minorities are concerned, that they have come; and rather a new type of persons have come, the agriculturists and others who previously had not come. All I can hope is that in

1. Reply to questions in Parliament, 22 August 1955. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vol. X, cols. 549-551. Extracts.
2. Anil K. Chanda was the Union Deputy Minister for External Affairs.
3. B.C. Ghose wanted to know Chanda's assessment of the conditions of minorities in East Pakistan and salient points of his report of his tour of certain areas of East Pakistan, West Bengal and Tripura which he undertook jointly with Ghyasuddin Pathan, Pakistan Minister for Minority Affairs from 15 to 23 April 1955.
4. For Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 8 April 1950 see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 14 Pt. I, p. 178-179.
5. See *ante*, p. 158.

view of the changes that have taken place in the Government structure there, perhaps those assurances would be given effect to.

Bhupesh Gupta: It is true, Sir, that the economic factor is a very vital factor in the situation. May I know, in that case, Sir, whether the Government has discussed any measures or steps for reviewing the economic relations between the two Bengals, which have been disrupted very badly, resulting in aggravation of the economic crisis there?

JN: The Government has frequently discussed with the Pakistan Government various economic measures, trade, etc., and sometimes some agreements have been arrived at, but I do not think that there has so far been any great effect on that particular situation and the economic factor. There may be, of course, with the development of relations, with economic plans that India may make out, but I imagine that the economic malaise is deeper there.

B.C. Ghose: Have the Government of India received any report from the Government of West Bengal about their assessment of the situation there and have the Government of West Bengal expressed any apprehension that this flow from East Bengal to West Bengal may continue and that it is not likely to cease?

JN: Yes, Sir. We have received communications from time to time from the West Bengal Government. We are naturally greatly perturbed about this matter. All of us are perturbed; they, being affected most closely, are most perturbed. We have been hearing from them on the subject and they have expressed their apprehension, as the honourable Member has mentioned. But whether in view of the recent changes they will change their opinion or something else might happen there, I do not know.

### 3. Cable to C.C. Desai<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 668 August 20th

We are completely agreeable to cooperate with Pakistan in dealing with

1. New Delhi, 22 August 1955. File No. 17(133)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. C.C. Desai was Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan.



floods.<sup>2</sup> These floods, especially in the eastern region, are a common menace to both our countries and it is obviously desirable for collaboration in dealing with them. In fact, these eastern floods come chiefly through Bhutan and Tibet and we have been in touch with these two countries in order to have previous information as well as, in Bhutan, to devise other methods of control.

2. Each major river valley region has to be considered separately from the point of view of floods. Last year we appointed several river commissions dealing with this flood menace. Among these commissions are Brahmaputra River Commission and the Ganga River Commission. They are expert Commissions and State Governments concerned are associated with them. They have already done good work. The main danger to East Pakistan comes from the Brahmaputra river and its tributaries. Also perhaps to some extent from the Ganga.

3. We accept in principle the proposal for cooperation between India and Pakistan in flood control in this eastern region which is so often devastated by floods. The manner of this cooperation will have to be carefully worked out. It might be desirable for Pakistan Government to constitute its own flood control commission for the eastern region. This commission could cooperate fully with our Eastern Commissions and they may even have a joint body or we may have a joint commission for that region. This is essentially a matter for expert engineers to deal with. We suggest that we might send soon one of our senior engineers dealing with flood control to Karachi to discuss broadly various approaches to this problem and to find out what suggestions the Pakistan Government has in mind. The next stage will be to consider the matter in greater detail and formulate specific proposals. If necessary, Ministers can meet at that stage, but previous discussions should take place at expert level.

4. Please convey this message to Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali.

5. As regard minorities, I agree that each country should look after its own minorities and produce confidence in them.<sup>3</sup> But, as you know, we continue to have large inflow amounting to about 20,000 per month from East Pakistan to West Bengal.

2. Desai had reported about his meeting with Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali on 20 August 1955, when Ali referred to the desirability of formation of a joint flood control commission. He had said that on receipt of the Indian Government's favourable response, the details about terms of reference, composition, location and funds etc. could be worked out. He also said that from a wider angle any joint action proving beneficial to people would lay surer foundation of goodwill between our two countries.
3. Mohammad Ali desired that both countries should gradually take diminishing interest in other's minorities, thus encouraging both confidence in and reliance on Government of one's own country. Desai reminded him of agreements made out but not ratified, of agreements ratified but not implemented and of the general atmosphere in the Pakistan Foreign Office that unless Kashmir problem was settled every other problem must remain hanging. Ali said that that was wrong attitude and as soon as he settled down he would bring about a change of attitude.

#### 4. To C.C. Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
22 August 1955

My dear C.C.,

Some time ago I gathered that you had taken a rather intimate interest in the inclusion of a Hindu member in the Pakistan Cabinet.<sup>2</sup> Your own letters also gave such an indication. I was rather concerned about this because I think it is better for our representative not to get entangled in such matters.

Today I met a Hindu member<sup>3</sup> of the Pakistan Assembly who was passing through Delhi on his way to East Pakistan. He particularly mentioned to me this matter and he was rather worried about it. The Hindu Members<sup>4</sup> of course, are not at all enamoured of the choice made for the Pakistan Cabinet. But, apart from this, any participation by you in these talks, whether with the Governor-General or the Prime Minister there or with the Hindu Members, appears undesirable. These things cannot be kept secret and inevitably you, and that is, the Government of India, will be held responsible both by the Pakistan Government and by the Hindu Members in East Pakistan.

Another thing that was mentioned to me was that when you went to Dacca, you advised a meeting of the Hindu Members of the Assembly there to work for the separation of Eastern Pakistan from Western Pakistan. The meeting was no doubt a confidential one, but it is obvious that such matters cannot be kept wholly secret. If it gets known that you have given this advice, this will react against us in many ways. In fact, I have often been asked about this matter by people from Pakistan. I have refused to say anything even confidentially.

I wish, therefore, that you might be much more cautious in your talks with the Hindu Members as well as with the Pakistan Government people. In your enthusiasm sometimes you might go a little further than is desirable.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Commonwealth Secretary.
2. Kamini Kumar Dutta.
3. C. Burman.
4. Basanta Kumar Das, Akshoy Kumar Das, Bhupendra Nath Dutta, Kamini Kumar Dutta, Sailendra Kumar Sen, Gour Chandra Bala, Rasa Raj Mandal and C. Burman.



## V. SRI LANKA

### 1. To John Kotelawala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 July 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

You will forgive me for this delay in answering your letter of the 10th June<sup>2</sup> with which you sent a copy of a letter you had addressed to the Prime Minister of Indonesia.<sup>3</sup> In these letters you referred to the admission to membership of the UN of the Asian and African States specially mentioned in our declaration made at Bandung. The delay in sending you an answer has been due to my absence from Delhi. I returned only two days ago after a lengthy tour abroad.

I entirely agree with you that we should endeavour to get the States mentioned admitted to the United Nations. As a matter of fact, I discussed this matter in some of the countries I visited, notably the Soviet Union. I pointed out the Bandung resolution, but it is a little difficult to confine ourselves merely to the countries mentioned there. The Soviet Government expressed their willingness to support the admission of all countries which are qualified for membership. When I asked them to name these countries, they mentioned all the Bandung countries in addition to a number of others. Thus there was no opposition on their part to any country.

The difficulty comes in because there is lack of unanimity among the great powers on this subject. The easiest approach appears to be a universal approach, that is, all countries, qualified to do so, to be taken into the UN. As soon as a limited list is made, there is this difference of opinion among some countries. In any event, we shall certainly do our utmost to get the countries you mention admitted to the UN.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Commonwealth Secretary.
2. Kotelawala had written that his Government would appreciate any assistance from India to secure admission to the UN of those Asian and African States, which were specifically mentioned at Bandung.
3. On 6 June 1955, Kotelawala had suggested to Ali Sastroamidjojo that as the Bandung Conference considered eight Asian-African States—namely Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal and unified Vietnam—for immediate admission to the UN, Ali in his capacity as the Chairman of the Conference should get in touch with the heads of the other states in this region who were UN members for putting forward a joint resolution in this regard. He also referred to the joint declaration of the Governments of Yugoslavia and Soviet Russia on 2 June stating that they welcomed the results of the Bandung Conference and hoped that the Soviet Union would not veto the admission resolution.

## 2. Indians in Sri Lanka<sup>1</sup>

...Jawaharlal Nehru: The position in regard to people of Indian descent in Ceylon is, according to our views, very unsatisfactory.<sup>2</sup> The honourable Member was referring to a particular enactment<sup>3</sup> and my colleague<sup>4</sup> said that that particular enactment did not directly concern us; indirectly it does concern us of course. But the broad question of Indian descent there of course remains and it is causing us much concern....

I cannot obviously produce the figures suddenly here.<sup>5</sup> I think those figures have been given in answer to a previous question. I may say that recently, during the last two or three months, the registration has been very very small and the acceptances by the Ceylon Government were approaching nil....

The Ceylon Democratic Congress is an organisation in Ceylon and not in India....<sup>6</sup>

It has nothing to do with this or like disputes....<sup>7</sup>

I do not understand the honourable Member's "sent out illegally".<sup>8</sup> I do not know whom he refers to. There are various types of people there. Some sent out are those who may be called illegal entrants in Ceylon. The number has become relatively little now. The Ceylon Government has every right to send out persons who have illegally entered Ceylon. Whether a person has illegally entered or not is a question of fact. I suppose the honourable Member was referring to others....

1. Reply to Questions in Parliament, 28 July 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vol. IV, part I, cols. 3082-3084. Extracts.
2. After the completion of registration as Sri Lanka citizens and as Indian citizens within the contemplated period of two years, the Governments of India and Sri Lanka were to consider the issue of stateless persons in Sri Lanka.
3. D.C. Sharma had enquired how the provisions of the Ceylon Citizenship Act affected the Indians settled there and whether the Indians were being debarred from registering on account of this Act.
4. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs.
5. H.V. Kamath had asked how many persons had applied for Sri Lankan citizenship, how many had been registered, and how many were still stateless.
6. Kamath had asked if Ceylon Democratic Congress had requested the Government of India for consultation before or during negotiations with the Sri Lanka Government.
7. Sinhasan Singh had asked whether the Colombo powers tried to evolve methods of common citizenship between their countries inter se.
8. U.R. Bogawat had asked if it was a fact that about 50,000 people were sent out of Sri Lanka illegally by Sri Lanka Government.



### 3. Procedural Difficulties in Citizenship Issue<sup>1</sup>

As you know, I had a talk with the High Commissioner of Ceylon<sup>2</sup> this morning. For nearly half an hour we talked about my tour and other matters. He then referred to Ceylon and spoke rather disparagingly about his Prime Minister. He referred to him as a person of limited outlook with little understanding and desire to show off. Does Sir John represent the future? he asked me.

Then he went on and referred to one or two other matters. No doubt he had discussed these more fully with you and I shall say nothing about them here. In particular, he talked of the Indians who went to Ceylon from 1949 to 1954 when, according to him, our High Commissioner was acting as some kind of an agent of the Ceylon Government and giving them their papers to go to Ceylon. If so, why should not this information be available?

He also referred to some independent authority being appointed later to check all the rejections of Indian applicants for Ceylon citizenship.

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Commonwealth Secretary, 30 July 1955. JN Collection.
2. Edwin Aloysius Perera Wijeyeratne.

### 4. To John Kotelawala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

11 August 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

I must apologise to you for the delay in answering your two letters of July 2nd, 1955. I returned to Delhi after rather a long tour abroad on the 13th July. Owing to my long absence, a large number of important and urgent matters had to be dealt with by me. I was also anxious to have all the previous papers examined in case I might be in error about some point. My Ministry communicated also with High Commissioner in Colombo<sup>2</sup> so as to get such additional information from him as might be available.

2. I have read your two letters with the care that they undoubtedly deserve. I have also seen the reports from our High Commissioner of his talks with you

1. JN Collection.
2. B.N. Chakravarty.

and your advisers.<sup>3</sup> One of your two letters deals with certain points mentioned in a note which I had sent you earlier.<sup>4</sup> I have no desire to pursue the controversy over them in the present letter. I am asking our High Commissioner to clarify our views in a separate note to your Foreign Office.

3. On two occasions, you have been good enough to take the trouble to come to Delhi to discuss this question of people of Indian descent in Ceylon.<sup>5</sup> We arrived at an agreement on the first occasion which was an attempt, on the part of both of us, to understand and try to meet the other's viewpoint.<sup>6</sup> Later, when some difficulties arose, we had another meeting and sought to remove the misunderstandings.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, even these two personal meetings between us have not yielded the results that we aimed at. That is a matter of deep distress to me not only because of our apparent lack of success in dealing with this question, but even more so because the fate of large numbers of people is involved. The question is of the deepest interest to your Government and people as well as to our Government and people but it is, if I may say so, of at least as great interest to those persons who are personally involved.

4. What distresses me most is the statements often made on the floor of your Parliament.<sup>8</sup> We have often to answer questions or make statements in our own Parliament on this issue.<sup>9</sup> I believe that no responsible person in our Parliament has used improper language or threats in this connection but, to my great regret, I have read reports of recent debates in your Parliament which are full of statements which can only be characterised as wholly irresponsible.

3. Chakravarty had conveyed to S. Dutt on 2 July 1955, that during these talks Kotelawala "talked of a solution on the Hindustan Pakistan model, he had in mind the difficulty of the Tamil community within the country and was referring rather to the division of Ceylon into Tamil and non-Tamil areas."

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, p. 274.

5. From 15 to 19 January 1954 and from 7 to 11 October 1954.

6. For the Agreement of 18 January 1954, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, p. 615.

7. For the discussions held from 8 to 10 October 1954 in New Delhi, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 135-175.

8. On 30 March 1955 the Education Minister of Sri Lanka replying to the debate in the House of Representatives on the Immigrants and Emigrants Bill said that contrary to the understanding reached in Delhi, the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo was not only not registering persons of Indian origin as Indian nationals but was putting obstacles in their way. On 22 June, Dudley Senanayake, the former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka participating in debate in the House of Representatives on the Indo-Sri Lanka problem held the Indian High Commission in Colombo responsible for deterioration of Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

9. For example, Nemi Chandra Kasliwal asked on 3 May 1955 in the Lok Sabha that how far certain allegations were true, which were made against the Indian High Commissioner during the discussions on the amendment of 1948 Act in the Sri Lanka Parliament.



Threats have been held out in the course of speeches and aspersions cast on India. I have no desire to enter into a controversy about the propriety of what should be said in a Parliament. Each Parliament and its leaders are free to adopt their own conventions and methods. You will perhaps remember that even on a previous occasion, I ventured to point out that some statements made in your Parliament appeared to me to be most unfortunate. Certainly they did not help in creating that atmosphere which is so necessary for friendly settlement of a difficult problem. I would beg of you to consider whether the problem of nearly a million people can be solved by this approach and by the methods which have been openly advocated in your Parliament. You and I and our colleagues have sought to find a peaceful solution of this problem, but you will no doubt appreciate that this solution does not lie entirely in our hands. The people who are immediately concerned cannot be ignored or bypassed. In any discussion or settlement, their wishes have to be taken into consideration.

5. In one of your letters of July 2nd, you have asked for my interpretation of clauses 2 and 3 of the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of January 1954.<sup>10</sup> You have also complained of our High Commissioner's attitude in regard to some matters arising out of the Agreement. For the sake of convenience, I have dealt with all these points in a note which I attach to this letter.<sup>11</sup> These points are important, and I appreciate your writing to me frankly about them. At the same time, you must forgive my saying that I do not consider them basic to the problem which we have been discussing during the past years. I am sorry that the 1954 agreement should have become subject to a conflict of interpretations.<sup>12</sup>

10. According to the clause 2, the Government of Sri Lanka was to prepare a register of adult residents, not included in the electoral register. After its completion, any person who was not registered and whose mother tongue was an Indian language, would be liable for deportation as an illegal immigrant and for whom Indian High Commissioner would extend all facilities. Clause 3 allowed the Sri Lanka Government to proceed with the Immigrants and Emigrants Amendment Bill putting the onus of the proof on the accused that he was not an illicit immigrant.
11. The note explained that under clause 2, the adult register should be compiled and prosecution of any person, even if his name had been entered in the register, had to follow the procedure prescribed in clause 3. The Indian High Commissioner, not bound by the verdict of the Sri Lanka court, must decide the case in accordance with the Indian law whether a person was or was not an Indian national and he was the sole judge in the matter. Also the Delhi Agreement did not cast any responsibility on the Indian High Commissioner to supply the Government of Sri Lanka with a list of persons to whom Indian authorities had issued travel documents.
12. Sri Lanka's interpretation was that she was entitled to put in operation the Immigrants and Emigrants Amendment Act before the completion of the adult register while India held that action against illicit immigrants could be taken only after compilation of the register. Thus clause 3 could become effective only after clause 2 had been implemented.

There is danger that in this conflict of interpretations we might lose sight of the fundamentals of the problem.

6. I wish to recall the circumstances in which we reached the Agreement in 1954. For certain historical and other reasons about a million persons of Indian origin find themselves in Ceylon today. Some of them are admittedly Indian nationals. The majority, however, are settled in Ceylon for a generation or more. You had been feeling that the economy of your country is incapable of assimilating them. You were also anxious to prevent the number of those who are already in Ceylon from being swelled by others from India. You, therefore, proposed to amend the Immigrants and Emigrants Act of Ceylon and place on an accused person the onus of proof that he was not an illegal immigrant. We felt that such a procedure would cause serious hardship. We, however, recognised your difficulty and both our Governments, therefore, agreed to deal with the problem in a spirit of mutual cooperation and understanding.

7. Illicit immigration is, however, only part of the problem. The main problem, in the view of the Government of India is the future of the large majority against whom charges of illicit immigration cannot be laid. The 1954 Agreement lays down a detailed procedure as to how these persons could acquire either Ceylon citizenship or Indian citizenship according to the respective laws of the two countries. When difficulties arose in the working of this Agreement, we met again in October 1954. On that occasion, you were accompanied by the Leader of the Opposition in your Parliament, Mr Bandaranaike, and your predecessor, Mr Dudley Senanayake. The points of view of both sides were clarified in full discussion. I hoped then that, as a result of these discussions and clarification, we would be able to proceed more smoothly in future and that the number of persons who would fail to secure either Indian citizenship or Ceylon citizenship would be reduced to a small proportion of the total. The determination of their future would not, therefore, present a serious problem.

8. Subsequent developments have unfortunately belied my hope. It seems to me that it is the intention of the Ceylon authorities not to register more than 50,000 persons as Ceylon citizens. We were first surprised by a statement made to that effect by your High Commissioner on his arrival here in India last year. Subsequent talks which our High Commissioner had had with you and other Ceylon leaders have strengthened this impression. The extraordinary fall in the percentage of registration after our meeting in October 1954 appears to be a pointer in the same direction. I understand that up to December 1953, 42.7 per cent of the total applications for registration as Ceylon citizens had been accepted by your registering authorities. Between January 1954 and September 1954 the percentage came down to 13.3. The percentage of acceptance for the period October 1954 to March 1955 dwindled to less than one per cent. Various



explanations have been given on your side. It is stated that the earlier applications were genuine; the later ones were inspired by the old Ceylon Indian Congress. You will recall that in the October discussion it was pointed out that applications were not being dealt with all over the country in the chronological order in which they were filed. The question of the earlier applications being disposed of first cannot, therefore, provide a sufficient explanation. I am informed that sixty-two per cent of the applications have been rejected on account of non-appearance of the applicants in response to notices from the registering authorities. It is not my intention to go into detail but my information is that these notices were not delivered individually. Only the estate superintendents were informed by the post offices—which in many cases are situated a number of miles away—that notices have been received and the estate superintendents are supposed to pass on the information to the applicants. I am not surprised that under this procedure many of the notices were unanswered. Other defects under the existing procedure could be pointed out but I do not propose to do so. I can only express my concern at the result. I find it difficult to believe that only 50,000 persons or so would be eligible for registration as Ceylon citizens. In our talks in London in 1953 your predecessor, Mr Dudley Senanayake, was prepared to accept 400,000 persons as Ceylon citizens and another 250,000 as permanent residents in Ceylon. It is true that at that time one could only form an estimate of the number which were ultimately to be registered and I do not wish to bind the Ceylon Government to this estimate. But the discrepancy between the number then acceptable to the Prime Minister of Ceylon and the number which is likely to be registered if the present rate of registration does not improve is so great that serious doubt has arisen whether the 1954 Agreement is being sought to be implemented in the spirit in which it was conceived. Meantime another amendment of the Immigrants and Emigrants Act has exposed many persons whose applications are still pending to the risk of denial of employment or dismissal if they are already employed. Obviously a situation has arisen in which mutual trust has disappeared. In such a situation nothing will be gained by approaching the problem from a purely legalistic standpoint. A friendly settlement of this problem is essential. Otherwise it will bedevil our relations permanently. Is it too late even now to find a reasonable and practical solution to what is essentially a human problem?

9. I earnestly hope that we shall yet be able to find some friendly and cooperative method of dealing with this problem. Not to do so would be a misfortune to all of us.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## VI. OTHER COUNTRIES

### 1. Gold Coast and Togoland<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you separately the letter of the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, which deals with this question of Togoland.<sup>2</sup> I have found it difficult to have clear ideas on this issue.<sup>3</sup> Merely supporting some theoretical proposition of independence of a small area may have no real meaning. Broadly speaking, we have in the past given general support to the Gold Coast policy without identifying ourselves too closely with it. It must always be remembered that the Gold Coast is at present the one outstanding example of real Africans on the verge of independence. (I do not consider Liberia as such an example).<sup>4</sup> Therefore, I would hesitate to go against the policy of the Gold Coast in this matter. I agree with you, therefore, that it would not be doing a service to Togoland to encourage them in regard to independence by themselves. Inevitably they would fall under some other country's influence.

2. You should send a copy of the letter of the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast to S.K. Banerji.<sup>5</sup>

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 21 July 1955. JN Collection.
2. British Togoland and French Togoland were Trust Territories under the UN Trusteeship Council and British Togoland was under the British administration of the Gold Coast. As Britain informed the Council in June 1954 about her inability to administer British Togoland after the Gold Coast became independent, a UN Mission was sent to ascertain the wishes of the people of British Togoland. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, suggested the Mission to ascertain whether they wished union with independent Gold Coast or French Togoland.
3. Describing the political arithmetic in the northern and the southern sections of British Togoland, Nkrumah favoured direct plebiscite with the two questions. His calculation was that Northern People's Party and Convention People's Party in the north supported union with the Gold Coast and even if votes were split in the south where Togoland Congress demanded separation from the Gold Coast and unification of British and French Togoland, he was assured "of victory and attainment of independence by Gold Coast and British Togoland together in the very near future."
4. The efforts for settlement of freed American slaves by the American Colonisation Society resulted in proclamation of Republic of Liberia on 26 July 1847.
5. Chairman, UN Visiting Mission to British and French Togoland.



## 2. Discontent in Tibet<sup>1</sup>

In the course of a talk with the Maharajkumar of Sikkim this evening, he referred again to our inviting the Dalai Lama to the Buddha Jayanti celebrations next year.<sup>2</sup> I told him that we had decided to invite him, but it was rather early to take any step now. Also that anyhow we had to sound the Chinese Government about it and the invitation itself would probably have to go through them, even though it might also be sent separately and directly. Our own idea was that when our new Ambassador went to Peking,<sup>3</sup> he might informally sound the Chinese Government about it first. We can then think of what further steps to take. It was obvious that the Dalai Lama would not be able to come here unless the Chinese Government approved of it.

2. The Maharajkumar said that it would be desirable for someone to visit Tibet with the invitation and it was rather difficult to go there in the winter months. In other words he suggested that this should be done before the next winter. I told him again that we had to approach the Chinese Government first. Also that much would depend on various developments in Tibet, which would probably govern the Chinese Government's decision. I said this because of what the Maharajkumar told me in a slightly different connection.

3. He told me that he met the Dalai Lama before he went to China.<sup>4</sup> It was clear then that the Dalai Lama was not at all happy and was going to China under pressure. The Maharajkumar had learnt through reliable persons that the Dalai Lama had not changed his opinion because of his visit to China and was still dissatisfied with things as they were.<sup>5</sup>

4. So far as the Panchen Lama<sup>6</sup> was concerned, he was exceedingly unpopular with the Tibetans and was considered more or less a stooge.

5. There was a good deal of discontent in Tibet. At present the question agitating the people there was the formation of the Committee, of which the Dalai Lama was the Chairman, to frame Tibet's Constitution or whatever it

1. Note to the Secretary General and Foreign Secretary, 25 July 1955. JN Collection.

2. Held from 24 to 30 November 1956.

3. R.K. Nehru was to go to Beijing in October 1955 as Ambassador.

4. On an invitation from Mao, the Dalai Lama left Lhasa in July 1954 for Beijing and returned in June 1955.

5. According to the Constitution adopted on 20 September 1954 by the People's Congress, China's legislative body, "autonomous" regions were considered integral parts of the Chinese People's Republic.

6. (b. 1937); Installed as the Panchen Lama, 1944; Vice Chairman, Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee, 1954-64 and 1979.

was.<sup>7</sup> The Chinese Government would appoint this Committee. It was not clear to me how this Committee would be constituted, but the Maharajkumar seems to indicate that some people who were going to be elected or nominated by Tibetan groups to it. It was this process of election or nomination that was going to take place and for this purpose many important persons were gathering in Lhasa; more particularly the extremist anti-Chinese wing was gathering there and they wanted to control this Committee. Having done so, they would probably take up a strong attitude against China and possibly even demand independence. If they did so, there was again the possibility of the leaders of this movement being arrested. If this happened, there would be trouble in Tibet. Indeed the Maharajkumar hinted that this trouble might well spread somewhat outside Tibet into some border regions of China, like parts of Yunan Province.

6. I am passing this on for record in the Ministry for what it is worth. I am inclined to think that the Maharajkumar tends to give a one-sided picture of the situation, because his own contacts are with a particular type of person who comes out of Tibet. We should not, therefore, accept his appraisal as necessarily correct. But it does indicate that things are not well in Tibet.

7. The Maharajkumar also said that not much developmental work had been done by the Chinese in Tibet. When I mentioned that many roads and airfields had been built near our border, he denied this and said there were no airfields and very few roads had been built. These roads were also built chiefly by Chinese Pioneer Corps and not so much by Tibetans.

7. As a result of adoption of the Chinese Constitution, the State Council adopted a resolution for the establishment of the "Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet" to further integrate the administration of Tibet with that of PRC. With the Dalai Lama as Chairman, Panchen Lama and Zhang Guohua as Vice Chairmen and Ngapo Ngawang Jigme as Secretary General, the fifty-one-member PCART was to function as the central administration of Tibet.

### 3. Situation in Egypt<sup>1</sup>

I had read this report by Jansen<sup>2</sup> previously. In a sense it is a good report, that is, it shows hard work and an attempt to understand the inner workings not

1. Note, 2 August 1955. JN Collection.

2. G.H. Jansen (1920-98); worked in Royal Indian Air Force, 1940-45; worked for *The Statesman*; joined Indian Information Service, 1951 and retired as Press Attache in Beirut in early sixties; author of *Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment*.



only of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization<sup>3</sup> in Egypt but also of the Egyptian mind. Nevertheless, I thought then and think now that Jansen's approach is an exaggerated one and the Ambassador's<sup>4</sup> viewpoint approximates more to reality.

2. This, of course, does not mean that the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt is not an important factor there. It is so and it may well give a lot of trouble in the future. The real difficulty in Egypt is the lack of a sound organisational basis for the present Government. The Government has undoubtedly, and more especially Colonel Nasser, a considerable measure of popularity in the Army as well as among the people. But that is a vague and rather an amorphous thing which cannot take one far without some organisational basis. The Egyptian people are rather unstable in politics and emotional.

3. One point that Jansen brings out rather vividly, though in an exaggerated form, is that the essential conflict is between what is called the East and the West. I think these terms are rather misleading. The conflict would be between the science and technology of the West and the older methods of the East. These latter take refuge in certain aspects of religion and customs which are embedded in the people. But the impacts of modern technology and science inevitably produce their reactions. To say that the Muslim Brotherhood adapts to Western technology because it puts up a few factories and mills is misleading. These are the externals though even they begin to produce results.

4. This basic conflict is present in some degree in all the countries of Asia. In China, the Revolution put an end to it completely, even though it may survive in some people's minds. In India, our methods are different and also a long period of British domination has made a great difference. Nevertheless, there is an element of that conflict here though it is not likely to give much trouble. It will continue to be an irritant.

5. So far as Egypt is concerned, the situation is full of instability and one can only hope for the best.

3. A religio-political organisation founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna advocating a return to Quran and Hadith for a healthy Muslim society. After mid 1938 it began to politicize its outlook and rejected the concepts of secularisation and modernization and posed threat to monarchy and ruling Wafd Party in 1940s. In 1952 with the advent of revolutionary regime the Brotherhood went underground and in October 1954 an attempt to assassinate President Nasser in Alexandria led to its forcible suppression.
4. Ali Yavar Jung was the Indian Ambassador in Egypt.

#### 4. Understanding Africa<sup>1</sup>

The Vice Chancellor<sup>2</sup> reminded you of my visit here about twenty months ago when I came at a Conference of students of Africa in India.<sup>3</sup> I remember well that Conference and I am glad that during this interval of twenty months much has been done. Some of the ideas expressed there have been realised. In particular, I should like to congratulate the University of Delhi in starting this Department of African Studies. What surprises me very greatly is that why such an important step was not taken long, long ago by this University or any other University. It is so obviously necessary and desirable for people in India to study Africa, not merely, as the Vice Chancellor said, because it is there, yes, as our neighbour. But you ignore the study of Africa at your peril. Let this be understood. It is not a theoretical proposition. It is not an academic matter for you to consider what Africa is. It is of the most urgent importance for us to understand Africa—to understand the rest of the world, too, but certainly Africa and her problems and her people more particularly.

Now, understanding includes many things. It means, of course, all kinds of political, economic, historical and other matters which you should know. But when you try to understand a country or a continent, it really means your understanding the people there.

The people there, there are many kinds of people there and till almost recently if one talked of Africa, one talked not of the people of Africa, not of the Africans, but of other people who ruled there. They were Africa. Now if we are to understand Africa, we have to understand the Africans, not those who superimposed themselves there and sat upon them, though it is as well to understand even those to know exactly what they are about.

Now how does one understand a people. You have to understand not only their minds, what is moving in their minds, but their hearts. What are their urges? What are the big forces that are driving them and in what directions are they being driven? Because there is no doubt at all that Africa is in a state of high ferment today. In whatever part of Africa, you may go, whether it is the northern Mediterranean fringe, whether it is the heart of east or west or central Africa or south, the picture may differ because the problems are somewhat

1. Inaugural speech at the opening of the Department of African Studies, Delhi University, 6 August 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. G.S. Mahajani, Vice Chancellor of Delhi University.
3. For an extract of Nehru's speech at the inauguration of an African Students Conference in Delhi University on 26 December 1953, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, pp. 639-640.



different in each area, but essentially it is Africa in ferment. The people of Africa are in a mental, and emotional ferment, and in physical torment, often enough, and all that. It is undoubtedly one of the most tremendous problems of the day. It may be over-shadowed for the moment by other problems of war and peace, whether it is in Europe—the problem of Germany—or whether it is in the Far East, Formosa and all that. They are big problems of the day, very vital problems because on them depend war and peace. That is so. Nevertheless, in a big continental sense, the problem of Africa is about the most vital problem that you have, and I think in the course of the next few years, this will become more and more evident. And now I cannot look into the future and map out what is going to happen, nobody can. Except for one thing, that I am dead sure that Africa will not remain statically as it is. But things in Africa are not, the conditions in Africa as they are today, are not accepted by the people there. In many parts, they are, in some places, violently with arms and other places in other ways, but they want to change them. And it is inconceivable to me that things will remain as they are. They are bound to change. Fortunately, there are some parts of Africa where one can look forward to a peaceful change to freedom and one has seen some such changes and I earnestly hope that this change will continue and will set an example for the other parts of Africa. Because I look with a certain, well—with a great deal of apprehension on Africa in this struggle—not only a political struggle, but it might become almost a racial struggle being carried on with the shedding of large quantities of human blood. That would be a tragedy of tremendous significance. So this is a problem, from the world point of view, of the greatest importance.

Then again, looking at it from our own point of view, it is a problem of practically a neighbour country or rather continent because the sea does not divide us. It is a little hop by air or otherwise. It is a neighbour continent. We are neighbours. And so it is about time that we paid attention to this fact and realise this and try to understand not only what is happening there, but what people are thinking, what they are looking forward to. How do they look to us—the people of Africa? Well, I do not suppose I can put this in a sentence or two. There may be various ways of looking at us in India. Certainly, I think it is true that many of them look with a measure of hope towards India. They are a little frightened of Europe. I do not mean people of Europe but I am rather talking of national policies of Europe. And those national policies of Europe have resulted in a tremendous deal of misery in Africa. It is just amazing what Africa and the people of Africa have gone through in the last few hundred years, from the days when the slave trade started and right up to now. So it is natural for the people of Africa to be a little afraid of those nations which have been in the past, or are in the present, responsible for the continuation of that tradition, even though it might be modified somewhat.

We have no such past in regard to Africa. We ourselves have recently gone through a struggle for freedom and have loudly asserted certain ideals. So, it is natural for the people of Africa to look with friendly and hopeful eyes towards India.

There is, of course, the mighty figure of Gandhiji which attracts people, not only in Africa but elsewhere. That is true. At the same time, for us to imagine that everybody in Africa looks up to India with infinite gratitude and as a kind of elder brother who should do them good turns all the time, well, that is wrong. There is a measure of apprehension, too, in the minds of some about India. I do not think it is really justified, but let us face the facts. There is a measure of apprehension. What will India do when she is stronger? Will India copy the West to some extent—trying to spread, if not a territorial domain, that of course nobody I suppose thinks—but in economic matters and others, try to exploit the African people? I do not think this sentiment is at all widespread. I am merely saying that, this kind of thing is played upon especially by, oddly enough, those very people who are exploiting Africa today. Well, I do not think that there is any possibility of our doing so, it does not arise.

But nevertheless, I want our minds to be quite clear and I want to remind you what the National Congress has been saying at least for the last thirty years and what it said, although it related to Indians abroad wherever they might be, it was said more particularly in regard to Indians in Africa, they are of various types. One, as you know, are the Indians who went to South Africa originally as indentured labour. They have stopped the indentured labour. They have continued for generations there and even now their problem is before us and before the world and before the United Nations—not their problem really, but essentially the problem of one race trying to dominate others in South Africa, a doctrine which is openly proclaimed. Well, there is no question of those Indians in South Africa exploiting anybody; they were among the exploited. But our people went to other parts of Africa, not in very large numbers, as merchants and traders etc. This warning was issued by us to them that they can expect no help from India if they indulge in exploitation of the people of Africa. We would of course try to protect them, their honour and self-respect insofar as we can where these are attacked. But we want them to remain there only so long as they have the goodwill of the people of the country, that is the Africans. If they cannot retain that goodwill, then we will not protect them. The sooner they come back the better. Because we do not want, even in the slightest degree, this idea among Indians there that they are a superior people or they are a people who can make money out of the unhappiness or poverty or misery of others. We just do not want that, at any cost.



When I think of Africa, many ideas come to me, all kinds of ideas; and when I think of Africa as a human being not as an Indian. I have a tremendous feeling of atonement of humanity; the way Africa and the people of Africa have been treated for hundreds of years, a kind of feeling that the rest of humanity would perform *prayashchit* for it, atonement for it.

And just now in my Hindi address<sup>4</sup> I referred to Dr Albert Schweitzer who deliberately has given his life, his entire life, and the life of a man endowed with the most brilliant abilities and talent, just to sit in the dark African jungle, to serve the poor and the diseased there. It is a wonderful example which you should all remember. He is a man of eighty now, almost going blind but continuing in that service, because he has felt this, how his forbears—not his own personal ones, but I mean in Europe—have treated Africa in the past and for his part he wants to atone for it insofar as he can. But it is not Dr Schweitzer only but the whole world ought to atone for it. Well, we can atone for it of course. But the first thing is to stop the evil from continuing. That is the first thing. That is difficult enough.

Now I hope I have indicated to you the great importance of knowing about Africa. It is not just an ordinary subject for you or for us. It is a subject of great significance for the future and if you want to know about Africa you must approach this, as any subject, with a measure of humility, not in pride and arrogance that you are going to some backward place and study some anthropological specimens because do not forget that while it may be different, Africa has a history, Africa has a culture, grown out of its soil, through thousands of years. It may seem strange to you. Do you realise that many people who come here think you and me very strange people and our customs very strange? It is an odd thing how a human being thinks something he does not understand as strange. So let us not make that mistake.

I think that the Delhi University is to be congratulated for starting this Department of African Studies. I hope it will grow and prosper. And may I say, because I think it was the Vice Chancellor who said something about it, about some scholarships for people from Africa to join this school—yes, overseas scholarships. I am quite sure that my colleague Maulana Sahib who is sitting here will gladly consider any such proposal.

About the other thing, too, the Vice Chancellor wanted to invite some eminent scholars from abroad here, I am sure there would be no difficulty about it either.

So, I am very happy to inaugurate this Department of African studies and the African Society and I wish it all success.

4. Not printed.

## 5. Cable to R.R. Saksena<sup>1</sup>

This is for your information only. Raschid<sup>2</sup> is returning tomorrow morning to Rangoon.

2. He told us of the difficult exchange position of Burma due chiefly to the fall in price of rice. They were adjusting themselves to this position, but the coming year was a very critical one for them. After that, they hope to balance. They wanted a loan of twenty-five crores or, in the alternative of about twelve crores and the balance to be set off against Indian goods to be supplied. All this of course involved foreign exchange.

3. Our Finance Ministry went into this matter very carefully and with every intention to help if it was at all possible. Unfortunately Raschid had no papers or precise information with him, though he gave some figures orally, India's foreign exchange position is difficult and, in view of our Second Five Year Plan, our resources are likely to be taxed to the utmost. In fact we are going far beyond our calculated resources. As it is, we have been compelled to cut down all the demands from our States rigorously. Our Finance Ministry pointed out that any such loan to Burma would mean directly cutting down some of our development schemes in the States. Also that it was hardly conceivable that the loan would be paid back within the period of our Second Five Year Plan. If it was not paid back within that period, we would be put in great difficulty. Thus, both from point of view of our position and Burma's position, our Finance Ministry said that with all the goodwill in the world, they could not recommend it.

4. However, we considered this matter again with the Finance Minister and we have suggested to Raschid that we can make Rupees five crore available almost immediately. Further we have recommended to him to try to get loans immediately from Export-Import Bank as well as International Bank. Former will give certainly about two crores. It is quite possible that International Bank might give ten to twelve crores. International Bank meeting in Istanbul next month. We shall try to help get Burma's proposals through there and we hope to succeed.

5. After International Bank meeting, we can review position afresh and we might then be able to give further loan of five crores. Thus, the maximum loan we can give is ten crores, split up into two parts of five crores each. Even this

1. New Delhi, 14 August 1955. JN Collection.

R.R. Saksena was Indian Ambassador in Myanmar.

2. M.A. Raschid was Minister for Trade Development and Labour in Myanmar.



will cause us very great embarrassment because it will mean cutting down our own plans in some places.

6. Raschid ultimately pressed for the ten crores to be promised now even though he would not draw upon them for two or three months. We said that in effect question of the second five crores could be considered within two months after the International Bank meeting. There should be therefore no serious gap of time. This is present position. It may be necessary for someone from Burma to come here to discuss further details or for someone from India to go there. We really are doing our utmost in difficult circumstances which have been aggravated by tremendous floods and huge damage caused.

7. From the point of view of population and resources, Burma's planning is far more ambitious than India's. Compared to a State like Bombay, again Burma's plan is much more ambitious with far lesser resources. It seems difficult to carry this through and it would be unfortunate at a later stage to have to give up schemes which they start now.

8. I want you to keep all this to yourself.

## 6. Development in Morocco and in Algeria<sup>1</sup>

There is no particular difficulty about this matter. What has happened in Morocco and Algeria, legalities apart, is of the utmost concern to every sensitive human being and, more especially, to people in Asia.<sup>2</sup> We should certainly convey our deep concern to the French Ambassador<sup>3</sup> here. This should have been done in Paris too, but, owing to the rapid changes that are taking place, it is perhaps out of date now.

2. But I think that we should mention to the French Ambassador or Charge here that opinion in India has been deeply stirred. We realise that the French Government is making every effort to solve these problems and we hope that they will succeed, but he will appreciate the deep feelings in India and many other Asian countries.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 31 August 1955. File No. 26(25)-WANA/55, MEA.
2. The nationalist uprisings in Morocco and Algeria had started in 1953 and 1954 respectively. The rebels had adopted more aggressive tactics attacking French forces and military posts in July and August 1955 which was followed by strong measures of repression by France and considerable increase in the French armed forces.
3. S. Ostrorog.

3. In this general statement that we make, it is not necessary to make any distinction between Morocco and Algeria.

4. There is going to be a debate on Foreign Affairs in the Rajya Sabha on the 6th September. I shall make some brief mention then of the North African situation. I should like a brief up to date note at that time.

5. The Indonesian Ambassador should, of course, be informed.<sup>4</sup>

4. The Indonesian Ambassador in India, L.N. Palar had met S. Dutt, the Commonwealth Secretary, on 27 August 1955 to express his Government's concern on the situation in Morocco and Algeria. He felt that besides Asian-African group in the UN, some action should be taken by the members of the Bandung Conference and he also wanted to ascertain the views of the Indian Government in this regard.

## VII. FAR EAST AND INDO-CHINA

### 1. To G.L. Mehta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

1 June 1955

My dear Gaganvihari,

Your letter of May 20.<sup>2</sup> I have partly answered it in a rather long telegram<sup>3</sup> which I am sending you today.

I am exceedingly sorry that you were embarrassed in any way by the change we made in regard to the San Francisco Conference. I knew vaguely that we had asked you to represent us. But the nature of this Conference was not quite clear to us. We were then told that it was quite likely that very important discussions might take place in this Conference between Foreign Ministers. Among the subjects to be so discussed would be the Formosa and possibly the Indo-China situations. This is perhaps the most urgent, important and delicate problem today and war and peace rather hang on it. The only person who can discuss these subjects with full knowledge is Krishna Menon. I cannot trust

1. JN Collection.

2. On 18 May Nehru had informed Mehta that Krishna Menon would be representing India in the UN special session at San Francisco from 20 to 26 June. This had embarrassed Mehta who had been preparing for long for this Conference.

3. Not printed.



myself to discuss them fully for lack of this detailed knowledge, although of course I can discuss the broad aspects. This is not a question on which we can write down brief for anybody.

Krishna Menon's recent visit to Peking and his talks with Chou En-lai made it all the more important for this matter to be dealt with by him.<sup>4</sup> Of course he is likely to see the President and Dulles even before San Francisco,<sup>5</sup> although Dulles has suggested that he should meet him in San Francisco. You will appreciate that in such matters of high importance only one consideration should prevail and that is how best to achieve certain results aimed at. Normal diplomacy consists in explaining one government's position to another in writing or orally, but where a government is not dealing with its own problems but with another government's problems and dealing with these in not an official or formal way, then it becomes very difficult to proceed with the rough and ready methods of ordinary diplomacy. There are not affirmatives and negatives about it. There are fine shades of opinion, hints thrown out, general impressions created without commitments, reactions awaited and so on. If a reaction is favourable, one takes another step forward. Otherwise one shuts up. All this is possible only when there is the greatest informality and as few persons are present as possible.

Our position in the Formosa matter is peculiarly delicate. The question does not relate to us directly. We are not even mediators, and yet it is a fact that we are playing an important role. What do we try to do? To soften and soothe each side and make it slightly more receptive to the other. This is not a matter of formal messages at all. The real point is that one wishes to avoid the official atmosphere. There is no question of secrecy with you. But certainly no other member of your staff should be brought into this picture. This does not mean that the members of your staff are not to be trusted, but that one has to be tremendously careful lest a light word might make a difference. The other day, here, someone in the American Embassy (not the Ambassador) made a slight slip which led to a leakage about the release of the four American prisoners in China.<sup>6</sup> The US Ambassador<sup>7</sup> was much upset by it and our position itself was somewhat compromised. Fortunately this did not have much effect. But a thing like this might well lead to upsets.

4. Menon was in Beijing from 11 to 21 May and held discussions with Chou regarding the Far East.

5. Menon met Eisenhower and Dulles on 14 and 15 June 1955 respectively.

6. On 27 May Nehru had informed Dulles and Eisenhower about Menon's talks with Chou En-lai in Beijing and had stated that "in response to our request" the Chinese Government have decided to release four of the US airmen imprisoned in China. These airmen were released on 31 May 1955.

7. John Sherman Cooper.

So far as San Francisco is concerned, I should very much like you to go there with Krishna Menon. Indeed there is likely to be work enough for both of you. Krishna Menon himself is anxious that you should go with him.

You refer to both Krishna Menon and Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit bypassing you or not keeping you informed when they were at the UN. In particular, you refer to Vijaya Lakshmi having an interview at the White House. I have only a vague recollection of this interview. It had nothing to do with any official message from us and I think the initiative came from the President. In such circumstances, it would hardly have been appropriate for her to take someone with her. I often see prominent foreign visitors to Delhi without their ambassador coming with them. Sometimes the ambassador comes and introduces them and goes away so that I can have a private talk with them.

I have not been satisfied at the lack of cooperation between our Embassy in Washington and our UN Delegations. To some extent, I suppose, this was temperamental.<sup>8</sup> To some extent also it could have been easily avoided. But the fact remains that it is not an easy matter to convey continuously the result of odd talks about various subjects. These subjects have related largely to international problems like Formosa or Indo-China.

Krishna Menon has done some quite remarkable work, more especially at Geneva and more recently in China. The future course of events have been powerfully affected by that work. That could not have been done by any ambassador because of his official position. It was only done because it was casually done. Krishna Menon's international position is extraordinarily high today. His position with us is equally high. As you know, he has been rushing about from continent to continent ceaselessly and has got a greater grip of some of these international problems than any of us. In addition, he has developed very important personal contacts.

But what I wish to assure you is that there is no question at all of our having lack of confidence in you. I think you have done very good work in Washington and the US.

You refer in your letter to the conclusion of three years in your present post. I had not thought of this and this suggestion, therefore, from you has come to me as a bit of surprise. I should like some time to consider it. If you

8. In a similar vein Nehru wrote on 2 June 1955, to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in London, (not printed) that though there was no secrecy with her, she should not feel embarrassed if Menon met Eden without her presence. "We have unwittingly got entangled in matters of high importance on which depends peace and war.... It is most important for Eden to press certain viewpoints on the US Government. It has to be hinted at informally and this cannot be done before British Foreign Office officials."



wish to come back and do some other work, I am sure that suitable work would probably be available.

I am writing to you practically on the eve of my departure from India when I have to attend to innumerable things. But I wanted to reply to your letter before I went.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Norodom Sihanouk<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
4 June 1955

Your Royal Highness,

I have seen the text of the Agreement which has recently been concluded by the Royal Government of Cambodia and the Government of the United States regarding military aid to Cambodia.<sup>2</sup> Your Prime Minister was good enough to hand over a copy of the Agreement to Shri Parthasarathi, our Delegate on the International Supervisory Commission.<sup>3</sup> I have also read the communique issued by the Cambodian Government on May 29 explaining the circumstances in which the Government of Cambodia decided to seek military aid from the United States.<sup>4</sup> I have noted with particular pleasure the declaration by your Government in this communique that they would always scrupulously respect the Geneva Agreement and the undertakings given by the Cambodian Delegation at Bandung, in particular the declaration on Cambodian neutrality. I venture however, to bring to your notice certain aspects of the Military Aid Agreement in view of their possible repercussions on the Geneva Agreements not only as

1. JN Collection.
2. The USA and Cambodia signed an agreement at Phnom Penh on 16 May 1955, providing for direct military aid from USA to Cambodia.
3. G. Parthasarathi was the Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control for Cambodia and later for Vietnam, 1954-57.
4. The Royal Cambodian Government, in its communique of 29 May, stated that military aid from USA was previously received through the intermediary of France and since now Cambodia had become an independent country, such "anachronistic methods were incompatible with her political status."

they affect Cambodia but also as they are likely to affect the other two Indo-China States. You will, I feel sure, agree with me as regards the importance of avoiding any action which may undermine the structure of the Geneva Settlement.

2. In the Declaration made by the Royal Government of Cambodia at Geneva on the 20th July 1954 they undertook not to solicit foreign aid and war material, personnel or instructors except for the purpose of the effective defence of the country. This declaration, as you know, forms part of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Powers on the 21st July 1954.

3. The US military aid to Cambodia is subject, firstly, to the requirements and limitations of any US legislation and, secondly, to the principles set forth in para 1 of the Agreement entered into between the two Governments in December 1951. US legislation referred to presumably includes the Mutual Security Act 1954. As you are probably aware, this Act has for its purpose the "authorisation of measures in the common defence, including the furnishing of military assistance to friendly nations and international organisations in order to promote the foreign policy, security and general welfare of the US, and to facilitate effective participation of such nations in arrangements for individual and collective self-defence" (Section 101). Again, the authorisation of military assistance to South East Asia including Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam is required to be made "to accomplish in South East Asia and the Western Pacific the policies and purposes declared in this Act" (Section 121). Under Section 141 of the Mutual Security Act, 1954, no military assistance shall be furnished to any nation or organisation unless it shall have agreed to the provisions of section 142. Section 142 says that no assistance shall be furnished to any nation unless such nation shall have agreed to certain obligations under this section. Some of these obligations were incorporated in the Agreement entered into between Cambodia and the US in December 1951 which was long before the Geneva Agreements, and which governs the present Military Aid Agreement.

In view of the above it would be difficult to say that the recent Agreement is intended solely for the effective defence of Cambodia.

4. Further, the provision in the Military Aid Agreement that Cambodia shall make "consistent with its political and economic stability the full contribution provided by its man-power, resources etc, to the development and maintenance of not only its own defensive strength but also the defensive strength of the free world" seems to be inconsistent with the Cambodian Declaration-B of the 20th July 1954 at Geneva.

5. Similarly, in para 2 of Annexure A of the present Agreement, the Royal Government has agreed to allow facilities and freedom from duty and taxes for equipment and material in transit through Cambodian territory destined



for other countries receiving military aid from US. This would amount to introduction into Cambodia of arms and equipment which are not strictly needed for the defence of the country and therefore, is inconsistent with a policy of neutrality which it is the declared aim of the Cambodian Government to follow.

6. Para 9 of the Agreement makes Cambodia a party to helping other Governments with war material, service and other assistance as may be mutually agreed upon between the Royal Government and the Government of the US in order to increase their capacity for individual or collective defence. Even if such assistance to another country is to be subject to the Agreement of the Royal Government, any war material received by Cambodia which can conceivably be used by others cannot be regarded as material meant for the defence of Cambodia.

7. I am informed that the conclusion of the recent Agreement has been causing great concern to the Government of the Chinese Republic.<sup>5</sup> It has also perturbed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It is possible that the International Supervisory Commission will have the matter brought before it by one party or another. It will in that case have to consider formally whether the Military Aid Agreement is consistent with the Geneva Ceasefire Agreement. Should the Commission hold that the Military Aid Agreement amounts to a violation of the Geneva Agreements, a serious situation is bound to arise, which may have imponderable consequences. During my conversations with you both in Delhi and at Bandung, I was impressed by Your Royal Highness' sincerity of approach to international problems and by your anxiety to observe the Geneva Agreement in letter and in spirit.<sup>6</sup> I have therefore ventured to bring the foregoing points to your notice in the hope that the Royal Government would still find it possible to avoid a step which, I fear, portends serious risk to peace not only in your country but in the whole of South East Asia. It is of course the sovereign right of the Government of Cambodia to determine its own policy but as a friend of yourself and your country I would appeal to you not to do anything which may well undermine the structure of independence and stability which you are trying to build. We in India wish for

5. See *post*, p. 354.

6. During his talks with Nehru at Delhi on 17 March 1955, Sihanouk had said that he fully understood "the dangers of foreign military alliances and the advisability of a policy of non-involvement." He emphatically stated that Cambodia did and "would cooperate fully to carry out the Geneva Agreement." He reiterated Cambodia's commitment to neutrality at Bandung on 23 April 1955.

nothing more than the peaceful progress, prosperity and continued independence of Cambodia.<sup>7</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Parthasarathi, Nehru wrote: "We think that the International Commission should give some time to the Cambodian Government to consider the above message. You should therefore, use your influence with the other members of the Commission against formal consideration of the Military Aid Agreement by the Commission."

### 3. Cable to N. Raghavan<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 209 dated 4th June has reached me here.<sup>2</sup> I am surprised and distressed to read it. I am sure there must be some misunderstanding. I met Mullik for few minutes just before leaving Bombay.<sup>3</sup> He gave me different impression. He told me that while Hong Kong authorities were carrying on full inquiry and intended to pursue this, their attitude towards Chinese Sub-Inspector who was suspected was deplorable. Ultimately they had agreed to remove him from this investigation.<sup>4</sup> He also pointed out difficulties of Kao not being allowed

1. Prague, 6 June 1955. JN Collection.
2. Raghavan had conveyed Chou En-lai's displeasure regarding the manner in which the *Kashmir Princess* enquiry was being conducted, especially the dubious role that B.N. Mullik, Director of Intelligence Bureau, Government of India played in it. Chou "complained of Mullik's strange behaviour" when requested by the Chinese representative, Hsiung Hsiang-hui, to deport all the suspects to China from Hong Kong. Mullik apparently did not keep in touch with Hsiung and hastily returned to India before concluding the investigation. Chou "insinuated" that most of the time Mullik behaved like an "apologist for Hong Kong Government", which indicated succumbing to pressure from US or UK Government.
3. Mullik had found during his investigation that the Hong Kong police and the British Intelligence Officers had done their best. The suspect Chou-chu and his instigator, a KMT intelligence officer named Wu, had fled Hong Kong for Taipei. In this course, a whole network of KMT spies was also discovered in Hong Kong. Mullik rushed back to report to Nehru, who was leaving for his European tour on 5 June from Bombay.
4. The Chinese representative, Hsiung had alleged that one of the investigators of the Hong Kong police, Li Fook Kai, was a KMT agent, and should be removed from the team. The Hong Kong police was reluctant to do so since there was little evidence against him.



by Hong Kong Government to divulge their information to Chinese representatives.<sup>5</sup> He mentioned also Hong Kong Government's plea of British laws preventing them from proceeding against any person unless there was adequate proof. In this he was merely repeating what British authorities had told him. He was in fact pointing out difficulties because of British attitude in some matters. He pressed Governor<sup>6</sup> to get British Intelligence men from England for inquiry and Governor agreed.

I have asked Dutt immediately to enquire from Mullik about various statements in your telegram and to let you know.<sup>7</sup> Please tell Chou En-lai that it is absurd for anyone to suggest that Government of India would support any wrong stand by Hong Kong authorities. I think it is very wrong for suspected persons in Hong Kong Government service to be used for inquiry. I have asked Krishna Menon to take this and other matters up immediately with Eden. British are very legally minded and afraid of court's interference under habeas corpus and questions in Parliament. Nevertheless it seems to me that stronger attitude should be adopted by them.<sup>8</sup> We are very anxious that this inquiry should result in justice being done and culprits punished.

5. R.N. Kao of Intelligence Bureau, Government of India had gone to Hong Kong ahead of Mullik and was responsible for maintaining liaison between the British, Chinese and the Indian authorities. The Hong Kong police had asked Kao not to communicate any information to the Chinese representative fearing that the Chinese may resort to a different course of action. Nehru drew Eden's attention to this fact, which he felt was a violation of Eden's assurance to Chou regarding "complete cooperation from the British side" in the investigation.
6. Alexander Grantham.
7. The Commonwealth Secretary sent Mullik's comments to Nehru. Mullik reported that the Hsiung Hsiang-hui, was extremely uncooperative and refused to liaise with the British. He insisted that all the people connected with Chou-chu, the suspect, be handed over to the Chinese authority or be tried for conspiracy, which Mullik declined stating that this was neither permissible under the British nor Indian law.
8. Chou had informed Nehru that the British were being indirectly pressurised by Chiang Kai-shek on two counts, viz. (a) threat of closing down British Consulate in Taipei; and (b) fomenting trouble amongst the Chinese population in Hong Kong. On 11 January 1956, the British Colonial Office closed the case and stated that inspite of warrants issued against Chou-chu, the Taiwan authorities have refused to extradite him on legal grounds. Kao returned to India in September 1955.

#### 4. Cable to S. Dutt<sup>1</sup>

I have received your telegram No. 30324 and Raghavan's message about Ho Chi Minh's arrival etc.<sup>2</sup>

If one of Co-Chairmen does not agree with our approach to question of elections in Vietnam I suppose we can do little about it. We must await further developments.<sup>3</sup> In view of UK proposal having been conveyed to Diem<sup>4</sup> asking him to initiate proposal for talks it might be desirable for us to indicate to Van Dong<sup>5</sup> of Democratic Republic to make that proposal himself also. In fact we asked him to do so at Bandung. It would be desirable for him to make formal proposals to that effect.

1. Vienna, 26 June 1955. JN Collection.
2. Ho Chi Minh was in Beijing from 25 June to 8 July on an official visit, during which he signed an agreement with China for an aid of 800,000,000 Yuans (£ 115,000,000) for building communication network and reconstruction work.
3. It was rumoured in the British Foreign Office circles that the USSR was not keen on pressurising Ho Chi Minh for opening negotiations with South Vietnam on the question of reunion and holding elections in these states according to Geneva Agreements. Ho was due to visit Moscow from 12 to 18 July 1955.
4. Ngo Dinh Diem, Premier of South Vietnam, had been informed by the UK, Geneva Co-Chairman, to adhere to the deadline set by Geneva Conference for a free and democratic election by July 1956. This had been done at Nehru's behest, who felt that in view of the Cambodian Agreement with the US, it was prudent to push through the precepts of Geneva in the other two Indo-China States, before they were usurped by the US aid.
5. A series of meetings took place at Bandung between Pham Van Dong, Foreign Minister of North Vietnam, Katay Sasorith, Premier of Laos and Norodom Sihanouk, under the aegis of China and India. Van Dong and Sasorith signed an agreement proclaiming their adherence to the "Five Principles" and prescriptions of the Geneva Agreements. During his meeting with Van Dong at Delhi on 9 April, Nehru pressed that DRV should take initiative in this regard and make "a reasonable proposal, which South Vietnam could not refuse."



## 5. Cable to Chou En-lai<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message about Cambodia.<sup>2</sup> We have been much concerned about new developments there and more especially United States-Cambodia Agreement of 16th May.

When I saw published text we communicated immediately with Sihanouk and pointed out to him that many provisions in it were not in conformity with Geneva Agreement.<sup>3</sup> His answer was supplemented later by formal memorandum published by Cambodian Government answering criticisms made by us and others.<sup>4</sup> I hope you have seen this memorandum. In this Cambodian Government denies that it is bound by several objectionable provisions in Agreement and in any event would reject any attempt by United States to act according to them in practice.

Though memorandum is helpful in certain respects it still leaves position unsatisfactory. In any event United States-Cambodia Agreement is formal document and much more important than Cambodian memorandum.

I entirely agree with you that this military aid agreement is objectionable and goes against the spirit and to some extent even letter of Geneva. If acted upon fully it will mean the end of Geneva Agreement. Question now is what steps should be taken in response to this. It appears to me that Sihanouk does not wish to tie himself up with American proposals but is at the same time very anxious to have American money to cover his large deficits.<sup>5</sup> He cannot

1. Vienna, 26 June 1955. JN Collection.
2. Chou En-lai's views on the Cambodia-US Military Aid Agreement, conveyed to Nehru at Moscow by N. Raghavan on 22 June, were that it was an extension of the US policy of aggression following Manila Treaty and "destructive in nature and an open violation of Geneva." Given the possibility of the US concluding similar agreements in Vietnam and Laos, Chou felt that, "Cambodia has become even more unscrupulous and has decided to make public neutrality as a challenge to those countries which respect Geneva Agreement."
3. See *ante*, pp. 348-351.
4. In a memorandum released through official news agency on 7 June, Sihanouk had described the Agreement as merely "an exchange of letters with the US Ambassador which does not involve in the least any alienation of Cambodian national sovereignty" or "neutrality". Emphasizing that the US military aid was "without any strings whatsoever", Sihanouk stated, its rejection would put undue financial burden on his people, which they were not in a position to bear.
5. In fact during his conversations with Nehru in March and with Chou in April, Sihanouk had pleaded for economic and military aid for his country. Chou felt that, in order to avoid direct US aid, it would be better if India provided that aid. In a note of 29 March to S. Dutt, Nehru confessed that providing the required amount of about thirty million dollars was beyond his ken.

do without deficit money. If Commission completely rejects this Agreement and if Sihanouk, because he wants the money and for reason of prestige, does not give it up then Commission cannot function any longer and Geneva Agreement breaks down completely insofar as Cambodia is concerned. This is just what the opponents of the Agreement desire and they will be pleased at this development. If possible we should try to avoid this complete break which will inevitably lead to other undesirable consequences.

On the other hand acceptance of this Agreement by Commission is objectionable. That will give free hand to US in Cambodia and probably similar agreements will be suggested for Laos and South Vietnam. If it is possible a middle course might be followed at present. Commission not bringing about this crisis by total rejection and at the same time making it clear that certain provisions of Agreement are not in keeping with Geneva. This will be a check on Cambodian Government as well as US in acting according to those provisions. If, however, they do act up to them then Commission can take stronger action. Meanwhile Commission can demand full supervision of any action taken in accordance with this Military Aid Agreement.<sup>6</sup>

I realise that this is not a very satisfactory position and much will depend upon developments but any alternative course appears to be more unsatisfactory and leading to immediate crisis and breakdown of Geneva Agreement. This will give free hand to opponents of that Agreement to do what they like.

I am indicating to you how my mind is working on this subject. As I am constantly travelling about it is a little difficult to keep in touch with current developments.

6. In a cable to S. Dutt on the same day, Nehru communicated his line of thought regarding Indo-China problem and asked him to instruct Parthasarathi to work out details in this regard. "It must be remembered that the Commission have every right to supervise the manner and content of the aid given in regard to military equipment or training."

## 6. To D.D. Eisenhower<sup>1</sup>

Vienna

27 June 1955

Dear Mr President,

Just before I left India, you were good enough to send me a heartening message

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.



which was greatly appreciated by me and for which I was very grateful.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently you received Krishna Menon and he gave you an account of his visit to Peking. I trust that you found his report encouraging in some respects and opening out for consideration some possible avenues which might lead to a lessening of tension and an approach towards a peaceful settlement of the grave issues in the Far East of Asia. I am grateful to you for the frankness showed to Krishna Menon.<sup>3</sup>

At Sir Anthony Eden's invitation I am going to London on a brief visit early in the second week of July.<sup>4</sup> I have asked Krishna Menon to come to London then so that he can make a personal report to me about his talks with you and Secretary J.F. Dulles. He will then return to the United States in case you should wish to see him again to discuss these matters further.<sup>5</sup> Although some progress has undoubtedly been made in the Far East, the situation is far from satisfactory and I earnestly trust that some advantage might be taken of the present situation to advance the cause of peace in which I know you are so deeply interested. In view, more especially, of the coming Four Power talks, some initiative towards peaceful settlements might well be helpful and create an atmosphere of goodwill.

I have just returned from a fifteen-day visit to the Soviet Union. I cannot of course, interpret the views of the Soviet Government, but it might be of some interest to you perhaps if I gave you my impressions. I felt strongly that the Government of the Soviet Union desired peace and a settlement of the various problems that had led to so much tension in the past and in the present. The Far East problem, I believe that they are sincere in this matter. So far as the public in the Soviet Union was concerned I witnessed amazing demonstrations of welcome and I have no doubt in my mind that there is a very strong feeling for peaceful settlements and the removal of present day tensions. I found great constructive work proceeding wherever I went in Russia

2. In response to Nehru's letter of 27 May 1955 (not printed), Eisenhower had sent a message through Cooper, expressing his "gratitude" for Nehru's efforts and inviting Menon to visit the White House for private and informal talks.
3. Menon met Eisenhower on 14 June in the presence of Dulles and G.L. Mehta. He briefed Eisenhower on his talks with Chou En-lai and stated that India "was only trying in a friendly way to prevent a tense situation from becoming worse and developing into a war." Eisenhower expressed his reservations regarding negotiations with China on the grounds of public opinion regarding US airmen imprisoned in China and the US commitments to Formosa. But he reassured Menon, "I am accepting at face value your position in this matter. But I do say it is very difficult for us."
4. Nehru received Eden's invitation on 21 June at Moscow and visited London from 8 to 10 July 1955.
5. Menon during his meeting of 14 June with Eisenhower had asked for another appointment, to which the President agreed saying "if this would serve a useful purpose." Menon met Eisenhower again on 6 July 1955.

or in the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union. New towns were being built as well as great public buildings and factories and numerous houses and apartments. All this constructive work also indicated to me a desire for peaceful progress.

My general impression was that a marked change had come over Soviet policy and that this was not a mere temporary phase. This gave me hope for the future and indicated that, more than at any time in the past, there was substantial reason for hope as a result of peaceful approaches and settlements.

I am venturing to address you, Mr President on this subject because so much for the future of humanity depends on the initiative that you might take at this turning point in history.<sup>6</sup>

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Eisenhower replied on 8 July, which Nehru received at Rome the same day. Eisenhower proposed that since Chou En-lai had reiterated his desire for direct talks, in Bandung on 23 April, it would be appropriate if "a designated Ambassador of the US should meet at Geneva with a representative of the Chinese communist regime of comparable rank with a view to dealing with the question of the citizens of each of our countries in the territory of the other who want to return." This formed the basis of the text of invitation to be sent to China by the US for Ambassador level talks at Geneva.

## 7. To D.D. Eisenhower<sup>1</sup>

Cairo  
11 July 1955

My dear Mr President,

I am grateful to you for your letter which was handed to me by your Charge d'Affaires in Rome three days ago.<sup>2</sup> I much appreciate this cordial message and I am glad that the talks Krishna Menon had with you and with Secretary Dulles served a useful purpose. I am now on my way back to India and I hope to send you a fuller reply from Delhi.

There is one point, however, to which I would venture to draw your attention. You have been good enough to inform me that you and Secretary Dulles are thinking of appointing a designated Ambassador of the United States to meet at Geneva with a representative of the Chinese communist regime of comparable rank with a view to dealing, in the first instance, with the question

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.



of citizens of each of the two countries in the territory of the other who want to return. As you have stated, this topic has already been discussed at Geneva at the consular level.<sup>3</sup> But the results so far obtained have been meagre. It would certainly be better for these discussions to take place at a higher level. But it is doubtful whether any further results are likely to be obtained by merely raising the status of the representatives on either side. It has been the hope and the intention of your Government, as of other Governments, to lessen tension in the Far East progressively so that this might lead to a better atmosphere for negotiations in some form or other. Fortunately there has been a lull in the Far East and practically a ceasefire. To take advantage of this position and to further it in the right direction, I would venture to suggest that some further step is desirable.

Premier Chou En-lai mentioned to us some little time ago that negotiations through diplomatic representatives as at Geneva had served little purpose. It would not be helpful if he is led to believe that nothing further is intended now than raise the status of diplomatic representatives at Geneva and to discuss only the question of detained nationals. The possible further progress to which you have referred in your letter might actually be impeded.

You have referred to certain limitations under which discussions should take place.<sup>4</sup> I would submit that even within those limitations it might be possible to discuss other issues.<sup>5</sup> I am not suggesting that any solution will be found at this stage by these talks. But you will no doubt agree that it is important to maintain, if not to improve, the present lower tensions in the Far East and thus prevent a conflict arising in respect of the coastal islands.

Because of the apprehension I feel in this matter, I am taking the liberty of drawing your attention to this aspect in the hope that this whole matter will receive further and fuller consideration by you before any definite step is taken.

Thanking you again and with my regards,

I am, Mr President,

Sincerely yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Consular level discussions between the US and Chinese representatives were continuing at Geneva since August 1954.
4. Eisenhower had stated that in response to Chou's suggestion of direct talks, the US would be agreeable to discuss matters which concerned directly both the Governments, but not about "the rights of third parties in their absence."
5. On 13 July Eisenhower replied to Nehru that: "We are quite prepared to make it clear in our communication to Chou En-lai that if our Geneva talks were conducted on a more authoritative level this could facilitate further discussions and settlement of certain other practical matters now at issue between the two of us. I trust that this will meet the concern which you express."

## 8. Cable to Anthony Eden<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message which Mr Middleton<sup>2</sup> has handed to me today. I agree that the revised wording of the United States proposal is somewhat better than the previous one.<sup>3</sup> I feel however that even this revised proposal might create a wrong impression in Chou En-lai's mind and make him think that this is the final outcome of all our talks during the past six months. These talks as you know dealt with the major issue of ending tension in Taiwan area. I am very anxious that nothing should happen in the Far East region which might produce fresh complications.

I have had a talk with the American Ambassador here today and have explained to him our apprehensions and our general approach to this question. He will no doubt communicate substance of this talk to President Eisenhower.

I would have preferred this matter being kept open for the present to give you an opportunity to discuss it personally with President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles whom you are meeting soon.

I should like to tell Chou En-lai that this is only a first step in relation to Geneva Agreements and that the door to further negotiations about the basic matter is open. I hope it will be possible to make this clear to him by you also on behalf of the United States Government. It is important that these further negotiations should continue in various ways and not be limited to the proposed ambassadorial contacts in Geneva which are likely to be rather formal and rigid.<sup>4</sup>

You will remember our discussing question of Chinese students and ex-students in the United States.<sup>5</sup> It would be helpful if the United States Government made a public statement about their return to China should they wish to do so and about setting up some machinery for this purpose. This machinery can be the Red Cross or some third country.

1. New Delhi, 14 July 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. George Middleton, Acting High Commissioner of the UK at New Delhi.
3. While transmitting the revised US text of invitation, Eden had written to Nehru: "This rewording is in my opinion a step forward and American efforts to meet our criticism have now made it a useful proposal. I hope you may feel able to encourage Chou En-lai to accept it."
4. It was announced simultaneously in Washington and Beijing on 25 July that the US and China would resume ambassador level talks at Geneva from 1 August 1955.
5. Dulles had informed Krishna Menon in March 1955 that the US Government had decided to remove restrictions on return of fifty-eight Chinese students resident in the USA.



## 9. Cable to Chou En-lai<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your letter dated 6th July which reached me telegraphically during my travels.<sup>2</sup> I met Sir Anthony Eden soon after and I gave him a copy of your letter and also discussed the situation in Cambodia and other States of Indo-China fully with him. I found that he was anxious to prevent any developments which might come in the way of the neutral status of the Indo-China States.

2. You must have seen the communication sent unanimously by the International Commission to the Cambodian Government in regard to the United States-Cambodia Military Assistance Agreement.<sup>3</sup> In the circumstances, this communication appears to me suitable and is a warning to the Cambodian Government.

3. I might mention that the United States Ambassador in Delhi called at our Foreign Office during my absence and gave positive assurances that his Government had no intention of having military bases or a military alliance with Cambodia.

4. I have only just returned to Delhi after a long tour abroad and I hope to communicate to you further in regard to Indo-China States. Developments in these States obviously require very careful handling.

5. You must have received a message from the United States Government through the British Charge d'Affaires suggesting that their Ambassador might meet your Ambassador in Geneva and discuss problems about nationals and other matters. This of course is only a preliminary move on the part of the US Government and can hardly be expected to take us far. The basic questions

1. New Delhi, 14 July 1955. JN Collection.
2. Chou En-lai had conveyed his agreement to Nehru's proposals regarding the course of action to be taken by the ICSC regarding the Cambodia-US Military Aid Agreement. Regarding Laos, he felt that the assurances given by Katay Sasorith, the Prime Minister of Laos, at Bandung that he would initiate talks with Pathet Lao and Prince Souphannouvong, had not been fulfilled. Further, Sasorith had threatened that the areas under Pathet Lao would be invaded by the Laotian Army. Regarding Vietnam, Chou suggested that India, as the Chairman of ICSC, should initiate talks between DRV and South Vietnam regarding peaceful unification and democratic elections. Chou wanted Nehru to convey the contents of his letter to Eden.
3. The ICSC conveyed its objections to the Military Aid Agreement and suggested that Cambodia should submit to stricter supervision so as to abide by the prescriptions of the Geneva Agreements. In reply to this communication, on 7 June the Cambodian Government published a memorandum reiterating its commitment to the Geneva decisions.



WITH JOZEF CYRANKIEWICZ AT A RECEPTION,  
WARSAW, 24 JUNE 1955





WITH JULIUS RAAB. VIENNA, 26 JUNE 1955

which you had discussed with Krishna Menon and which were later discussed with the UK and USA Governments have to be dealt with separately.<sup>4</sup> I pointed this out to Sir Anthony Eden who is largely in agreement with us in this matter.

6. My information is that opinion in the United States has changed considerably during recent weeks and is more favourable to a realistic approach of the problem of lessening tension in the Taiwan area. But this has taken a little time to develop. I have no doubt that it will produce more adequate results. We are continuing to try our utmost and I shall keep you informed.

4. This refers to the question of reducing tension in the Chinese coast by evacuating the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Earlier in January China had captured Yikiang islands north of Taiwan, which had sparked off a fresh row of bombardments on both sides. Voluntary evacuation of Matsu and Quemoy was deemed as a first step towards maintaining peace in the area.

## 10. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

You must have received Raghavan's telegram 282 July 15th conveying Chou En-lai's message to you.<sup>2</sup> I have received copy of this.

Chou En-lai's message though in strong language and attacking United States and UN really indicates more cooperative approach.<sup>3</sup> It might be advisable for you to inform Eden of substance of this message so that he may appreciate Chinese background of thinking.

1. New Delhi, 16 July 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chou En-lai had given his consent to the American proposal for ambassador level talks at Geneva and had expected this to "facilitate continued rendering of good offices by India, Soviet Union and UK for improvement of relations between China and United States."
3. Chou En-lai felt that the US on the one hand was proposing talks, but on the other it was sending very aggressive signals. He pointed out Dulles' invectives at San Francisco, calling China "the Agressor", purporting release of four US airmen as an outcome of UN pressure, US Navy and Air Force manoeuvres in Formosa straits, direct military aid to Indo-China States and putting pressure on the Chinese students in the US to leave the country by 6 September, as examples of unfavourable attitude. He also referred to Hammarskjöld's two letters dated 3 June and 8 July 1955 asking the Chinese to release the eleven US airmen or else he would be bound to "report to the UN." Chou felt that, whether China released the eleven airmen or not, it would serve the American purpose of maintaining tension and defaming China. In this, he alleged, Hammarskjöld had bowed to US pressure.



I understand that when British Charge d'Affaires delivered Chou En-lai US Government's message Chou En-lai's reaction was quite friendly. I hope this does not lead UK or USA to think that we are stronger advocates of Chinese position than Chinese themselves.

Chou En-lai's complaints about situation in Indo-China States though partly justified are exaggerated.<sup>4</sup> In fact there appears to be much exaggeration on both sides. In Cambodia a fairly satisfactory solution of difficulty caused by US Military Aid Agreement has for the present been reached by Commission. In Laos reports of fighting were greatly exaggerated. Military talks between two parties have been continuing for sometime. Political talks started yesterday with three Commissioners as silent observers. No agreement was reached to begin with as to which subject should be considered first. Talks were suspended to allow for private negotiation. Parties were going to meet today again.

You will let me know of further developments and any steps that you might be taking.<sup>5</sup>

4. Chou felt that the US was actively preparing to undermine the Geneva Agreements. In Cambodia, it had already concluded a Military Aid Treaty. In Laos, the US had instigated the attacks of Royal Army on Pathet Lao. In South Vietnam, US support to Ngo had unleashed a reign of terror on other political parties and the populace in general.
5. Nehru read out a portion of Chou's message to Sherman Cooper on 16 July who sought a copy of that portion to be transmitted to Eisenhower.

## 11. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

You must have seen broadcast by Diem, Prime Minister, South Vietnam. In this he makes it clear that he is not bound in any way by Geneva Agreements which he says were signed against the will of the Vietnamese people.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, they will continue their struggle for reunification. They do not reject principle of free elections as peaceful and democratic means to achieve

1. New Delhi, 17 July 1955. File No. 1(25)-IC/55, MEA.
2. Ngo Dinh Diem had been maintaining for some time that the South Vietnam being a sovereign country now was not bound by Geneva Agreements to which it was not a signatory. Nehru held that since the Agreement was signed by the French C-in-C in Indo-China, who had suzerainty over South Vietnam, it behoved on Ngo Dinh Diem to follow the Agreement. Ngo reiterated his stand in a broadcast on 16 July 1955.

unity but those can only take place on condition that they are absolutely free. He attacks Vietminh and says that it is out of the question for them to consider any proposal from Vietminh if Vietminh do not give up terrorism and totalitarian methods etc.<sup>3</sup> He also refers to "Communist Pathet Lao".

2. During past few days there have been organised demonstrations in Saigon against International Commission. There is no doubt that these are officially inspired.<sup>4</sup>

3. This statement is far worse than what was suggested by British Government to Diem. There is no suggestion even of talks with North Vietnam. In view of this attitude of South Vietnam, conditions are likely to grow worse in Vietnam.<sup>5</sup> I think this should be brought to the notice of the UK Government.

3. Ngo Dinh Diem had made it a condition that Vietminh must denounce violence and put national interest above ideology before any talk about unification and elections.
4. Diem considered the interventions of ICSC following the precepts of Geneva Agreement to be partial to the communist viewpoint. For demonstrations against ICSC. etc., see *post*, pp. 369-371 and 373-376.
5. The political situation in South Vietnam had come to a head. In March 1955, the three militant sects, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao and Binh-Xuyen, the Socialist Party and the Dai-Viet (Nationalists) had come together to form a "United Front of Nationalist Forces" and pressurised Ngo Dinh Diem to form a Government of National Unity by merging all the armies, controlled by them, into one. In April Ngo brutally suppressed the Binh-Xuyen in Saigon. In May, a council of leaders, under Ngo, called for the deposition of Bao Dai, who had survived as head of the State by the US support. In June, Ngo took certain measures, such as abolition of imperial guards, transfer of imperial domain to the State etc., to hasten Bao Dai's way out. In early July severe repression was unleashed on Hao Hoa and Binh-Xuyen, which broke their stronghold. This reflected, on the one hand, a consolidation of Ngo's position with the US support and on the other, a very fluid political situation in the State.

## 12. Cable to N. Raghavan<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 282 15th July conveying message from Chou En-lai to Krishna Menon.<sup>2</sup>

1. New Delhi, 17 July 1955. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 361-362.



Please tell Chou En-lai that I appreciate what he has written and we have made Chinese position clear in our talks in London and with US Ambassador here. Krishna Menon has also done so in London, Ottawa and Washington. We have not reached conclusive stage yet. These efforts will be continued after Geneva Conference and I am considering asking Krishna Menon to return to Washington for the purpose after Geneva.

I am glad that Chinese Government have agreed to US proposal for talks on certain practical matters in Geneva at ambassadorial level. This cannot take the place of other avenues for negotiation on more basic issues, but every direct contact between China and US is helpful in reducing tension and taking us one more step forward. Meanwhile, attempts to obtain agreements in principle with a view to peaceful settlement of basic issues must continue.

I have every hope that some satisfactory procedure about return of Chinese students and ex-students from US will be evolved.

I appreciate Chinese viewpoint about release of American airmen and entirely agree that there should be no question of pressure tactics in this matter. I think that no one will consider Chinese action in this matter as due to pressure from outside. In fact the release by China would indicate China's strength.<sup>3</sup>

There is no doubt that at present this question of imprisoned American airmen has powerfully affected American opinion and acts as a barrier to any progress, political or other. It is utilised by that section of American opinion which is opposed to any relaxation of tension.

Regarding Laos the position, though difficult, appears to be better than reports indicated. Fortunately, International Commission is dealing with this situation with some success. Because Geneva Agreement about Laos is not clear in certain respects, difficulties in interpretation are constantly arising and there is an attempt by both parties to manoeuvre for position. Apart from legal interpretations, the only right course appears to be for these military movements to stop on both sides to enable questions at issue being considered peacefully by both parties. Commission is, therefore, encouraging these direct talks between Pathet Lao and Royal Laotian Government for some time past. Military talks between them have been taking place. Separate political talks began two days

3. Criticising the American pressure tactics to release the eleven imprisoned airmen in China, Chou had written that "such pressure can have no effect whatever on us except to rouse indignation of the Chinese people." He reiterated that China will not "tolerate any outside intervention or provocation" and pursue the policy "which it deems to be most advantageous to relax tension."

ago.<sup>4</sup> Difficulties no doubt will arise but there is no other way except patiently trying to get over each difficulty and trying to maintain a climate of peace and direct negotiation. Any attempt by one party to overreach the other leads to immediate reactions.

Four Power Conference in Geneva cannot obviously deal with Far Eastern question in absence of China.<sup>5</sup> But if Geneva Conference leads to general relaxation of tension, this will no doubt help in producing suitable atmosphere for Far Eastern problems also. In fact every step that helps in producing this atmosphere is to be welcomed. There is no doubt that there is strong desire all over the world for peaceful settlement of outstanding problems and thus eliminating possibility of war.

4. Discussion between the Royal Government and the Pathet Lao started on 15 July 1955 on the issue of general elections, integration of various political parties' interests into a national one, the question of guerrilla violence and civil liberties.
5. The Four Power Conference at Geneva had on its agenda the question of German rearmament and unification, the question of East European countries and Communist interference in other countries. Nehru had consistently argued that the Far East issue could not be discussed without China and the US had rejected it on the ground that it recognised only Nationalist China.

### 13. To Ali Sastroamidjojo<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17 July 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

When I was in Moscow, your Ambassador there gave me your letter of June 5th from Shanghai. You will forgive me, I hope, for this belated acknowledgement of this letter. I have been constantly travelling about since then and only returned to Delhi three days ago.

I am grateful to you for having written to me about your talks with Premier Chou En-lai. These talks, I find, were more or less in line with our talks with him.

Since you were in China and during recent weeks, there have been a number of developments, some favourable and some unfavourable. You will have learnt about the proposal of the US for an ambassador of theirs to meet a person of like status in Geneva to consider the question of nationals in each other's country as well as some other practical matters. This proposal, which has been accepted

1. JN Collection.



by China, does not deal with any major issue and is therefore, rather inadequate. But every direct contact is to be welcomed as it might lead to other steps.

The position therefore is at present that while these Ambassadors of the US and China will meet in Geneva to consider some minor questions, the major issue in regard to the Far East will have to be approached separately and informally. The proposals to have special conferences, ten power or smaller, can hardly take shape till some broad basis for agreement has been previously reached. Our attempt, as you know, has been to get this broad basis in regard to the coastal islands. We have deliberately left Taiwan out of the picture because this is a far more difficult issue. If the coastal islands issue is solved, or some agreement is arrived at about its solution, the tension in the Far East will immediately go down. It will be easier then to consider the bigger issue of Taiwan at some leisure. Thus, the objective at present before us is to lessen tension in the Far East.

The UK Government and Canada broadly agree with this approach, but the USA are still not agreeable. Apart from other matters, the question of American airmen being under detention in China has created a great deal of feeling in the United States. I fear that this is an effective barrier to further political progress. I feel that if these American airmen were released, the situation would be much easier.

On the other hand, the Chinese Government complain that their students and ex-students in America are not allowed to return to their home country. I suppose these matters will be considered at the ambassadors' meeting in Geneva.

The Four Power meeting in Geneva which is beginning tomorrow cannot directly deal with Far Eastern issues in the absence of China. But it is possible that some informal talks might take place there on this subject also. In any event, if the Four Power meeting results in creating a favourable climate of peace in the world, this will undoubtedly help in approaching the Far Eastern problem.

Developments in the States of Indo-China have caused much concern to us, more especially the US-Cambodian Military Aid Agreement. China and North Vietnam have objected to this strongly. There is some justification for their objection as it does not appear to conform wholly to the Geneva Agreements. However, the Commission has, for the present, found a way out of this difficulty. In Laos, there is constant tension. The crux of the question, however, lies in Vietnam. Here South Vietnam refuses to acknowledge the Geneva Agreements.<sup>2</sup> They talk of elections, but as something in the vague future.

2. See *ante*, pp. 362-363.

I am looking forward to meeting President Soekarno as he passes through Delhi. I am sorry he cannot stay here.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 14. To U Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17 July 1955

My dear U Nu,

I am grateful to you for your letter of July 3rd with which you sent me copy of the message you sent to Premier Chou En-lai. Please forgive me for the delay in answering your letter. I received it during my travels on the eve of my return to India. I had occasion to mention this matter to Sir Anthony Eden.

2. During the last few weeks situation in Cambodia has been a developing one and International Commission have been in correspondence with Cambodian Government in regard to US military aid agreement. On the whole, this appears to be leading to satisfactory arrangement for the present. But situation is full of difficulties.

3. As you know, we have been willing to go as far as we can to help Cambodia and were even agreeable to sending military training mission. But the Cambodian Government told us clearly that they would not like to have this mission. Since then other developments have taken place which make it even more difficult for us to make any such proposal. In any event, we would not like to be connected, even indirectly, with American aid arrangements in Cambodia, much less to act as some kind of agents of the United States in this matter. If Cambodia makes specific proposal to us, we shall consider it in all its aspects. I think, however, that for present we should await developments.

4. You will have learnt that the US and China have agreed to discuss certain matters relating to their nationals and other practical and minor matters at ambassadorial level in Geneva. This does not include major issues like Taiwan. Krishna Menon has informed you of our general approach to this

1. JN Collection.



question which is based on coastal islands being evacuated peacefully and leaving Taiwan issue for future consideration. I believe that the UK Government as well as Soviet Union are encouraging this approach, but for the present American Government is not agreeable.

5. I do not think it is at all likely that Taiwan will send mission to us, nor is it feasible for us to send mission to Taiwan. Chou En-lai has certainly said that he is prepared for direct talks with Chiang Kai-shek. He considers this internal matter and objects to any other country intervening. So far as Taiwan Government is concerned, it will have nothing to do with India.

6. In these circumstances, one can only patiently carry on endeavours to bring about direct negotiations between the USA and People's Government of China. In this Burma and the United Kingdom can help.

7. Although Four Power Conference in Geneva is not directly dealing with Far East issue—it cannot deal directly with Far East issues in absence of China—it is possible that some favourable development there might produce climate of negotiation even for Far East.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 15. Message to Anthony Eden<sup>1</sup>

You will remember my suggesting to you at Chequers and subsequently at the London Airport that it would be desirable for the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference to meet soon preferably at Geneva on the occasion of the Four Power talks, to consider developments in Indo-China.<sup>2</sup> Since then conditions have deteriorated, more especially in Vietnam. Diem, Premier of South Vietnam, has recently made a statement practically denouncing the Geneva Agreement and laying down certain conditions for talks with North Vietnam. These conditions appear to be such as to make it highly improbable for any talks to take place. According to the Geneva Agreement, these talks should

1. New Delhi, 19 July 1955. JN Collection.

2. This was also suggested by Krishna Menon in a telegram to Nehru on 18 July 1955.

begin on the 20th July. Failure to have these talks would lead to all kinds of unfortunate developments.

In Cambodia the situation is at least being held by the Commission. In Laos the earlier reports that were received were exaggerated and the situation was not so bad as we thought it was. Talks are going on between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao.

In any event, and more especially because of the position in Vietnam, it seems to me very necessary that the two Co-Chairmen should meet and review the situation. As both you and Molotov are in Geneva, this meeting could take place without much difficulty. Informally, of course, you could discuss this matter with President Eisenhower and the French Prime Minister also who are both interested.

If you agree, a formal request on behalf of India could be made to both you and Molotov for such a meeting of the two Co-Chairmen. I am afraid that unless some step is taken, the situation in Vietnam is likely to deteriorate. Of course, the goodwill of the United States will be necessary for any step.

I shall await your reply.

I earnestly hope that the Four Power Conference will yield substantial results in easing world tensions and pointing the way to peace.

## 16. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Following message has been sent by me to Sir Anthony Eden and Mr Molotov through their Governments' Representatives in Delhi. We have also informed Representatives of United States and France here.

2. I am not repeating Desai's message to me. He reached Saigon this morning and soon crowd attacked violently Majestic Hotel as well as other Hotels, where Commission staff staying. Slogans and attacks were principally anti-Polish, anti-Indian and anti-Vietminh. According to Desai French security arrangements failed completely and National Vietnamese Security Police looked on at demonstrators.

Message from Prime Minister of India to Sir Anthony Eden and Mr Molotov: Begins:

1. New Delhi, 20 July 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers. NMML. Also available in JN Collection.



I am giving below copy of a message which I have just received from Saigon from M.J. Desai our Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam.<sup>2</sup> Desai had come to India for consultations. He returned only two days ago and reached Saigon this morning. His telegram was sent at 11 hours Saigon time. We have seen account of the rioting and disturbances in Saigon sent by Reuter's Agency. I do not repeat them here as you will no doubt have seen them also. According to Reuter's report an Indian member of the International Commission has been killed but this report has not been confirmed. In any event Indian members of the Commission have been assaulted and injured and their papers and belongings have been destroyed. Some other members of the Commission have also been similarly treated.

I shall like to draw your attention to Article 25 of the Geneva Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam. This Article states that the Commanders of the forces of the two parties shall afford full protection and all possible assistance and cooperation to the Joint Commission and its joint groups and to the International Commission and its Inspection Teams in the performance of the functions and tasks assigned to them by the present agreement.<sup>3</sup>

For sometime past there has been lack of cooperation with the International Commission by the South Vietnam Government. Demonstrations have been organised by them against the Commission and all this has now culminated in this disgraceful occurrence. On the evidence before us we must hold South Vietnam Government responsible for this violent attack on members of the International Commission. Adequate protection was also not given by the French security forces.

I would request you and your Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference to consider the situation in Saigon and in South Vietnam immediately and to take immediate steps for the proper protection of the members of the International Commission and their staffs. It is

2. According to M.J. Desai's report when he reached Saigon at 8.30 a.m. on 20 July, a violent mob had already gathered in front of the Hotel Majestic. Within twenty minutes the mob went on a rampage smashing doors, windows and furniture going systematically from room to room. Other hotels where the Commission's staff stayed were also attacked and their cars were burnt.
3. Desai presumed the complicity of the South Vietnamese Government because the French police and the Vietnamese National Security Guards stood there as mere spectators when the demonstrators damaged the properties of the Polish and Indian members: the Canadians were left untouched.

obviously impossible for the Commission to function in Vietnam if there is no protection or cooperation of the Governments concerned.

On behalf of the Government of India I request a meeting of the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference to consider this new situation that has arisen and to issue necessary directions.<sup>4</sup>

4. On receiving Nehru's cable, Eden met E. Faure, the French Premier, who in turn instructed General Jocquot, the French C-in-C in Indo-China, to take appropriate measures to protect the ICSC staff. Eden also had a tripartite talk with the US and the French, who lodged their protests in strong terms to Diem. Diem replied to them immediately conveying his intention to express "sincere apology" to the Commission, especially the Chairman.

## 17. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 1506 21st July.<sup>2</sup> All Governments concerned with Indo-China development including France, Canada, Poland and United States have been kept fully informed by us.

2. I think it would be better for you not to go to Geneva until definitely invited to do so.<sup>3</sup>

3. There is no question of adverse reaction on Chou En-lai but in view of recent happenings it is desirable for you to stay on in London and not return to India yet.<sup>4</sup> We should await developments.

1. New Delhi, 22 July 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Menon had written that a firm protest demanding adherence to Article 25 of Geneva Agreements should be made to the French Government, so as to strengthen their hands against US intervention in South Vietnam and also to place some responsibility on Diem. He felt that the French might feel "slighted" if no direct reference was made to them.

3. Menon had informed that the Soviet Charge d'Affaires at London had told him that there was a possibility of Indo-China question being discussed at Geneva. He wanted Nehru's opinion as to whether he should go on his own initiative to Geneva.

4. Menon felt that if the US made an announcement regarding direct talks with China at Geneva, then in that case his coming back to India at this juncture might have adverse reactions on Chou En-lai.



## 18. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 1526 25th July.<sup>2</sup>

We have received replies from Eden and Molotov about Vietnam situation. All these amount to is that pressure is brought to bear on Diem to give full protection to and cooperate with International Commission and that talks must begin with North Vietnam in regard to elections. Eden has told Molotov that he cannot function in future as one of Co-Chairmen of Geneva Conference and that Macmillan will now take his place. Molotov has apparently accepted this position.

I think that partly because of Four Power Conference at Geneva and partly for other reasons position in Far East is quieter at present and there is less tension. I do not think Chinese would regard recent developments as a rebuff. My impression is to the contrary.

However all this is temporary and we have to continue our line of action. You can go to United States as arranged or at your convenience. We are informing Cooper about this. He told me some time ago that Senator George<sup>3</sup> was anxious to meet you.

I think it would be desirable for you to see Macmillan before you left.<sup>4</sup>

1. New Delhi, 26 July 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Menon had informed that nothing had been communicated to him from the British or American side regarding Indo-China position and US-China talks. He sought Nehru's advice regarding his (Menon's) visit to Washington to elicit some information in this regard. He requested Nehru to inform Cooper, the US Ambassador in India, about Menon's visit so that "grave developments can be avoided."
3. Walter Franklin George (1878-1957); US Senator (Democrat), 1922-1957; Eisenhower's personal representative to NATO, 1957.
4. Menon had mentioned that he had been shown a copy of the communique to be released at Geneva later and that Harold Macmillan might wish to discuss this with him before he left London.

## 19. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Raghavan informs us that Chinese leaders have viewed with some satisfaction recent Four Power Conference at Geneva and consider atmosphere was much better than expected and might lead to future result.

Also they think new arrangement for American and Chinese Ambassadors to meet at Geneva is considered to possess wider possibility if sincerely adhered to by both parties. Some delay whether to issue communique was due to American objection to description of parties as "America and China". To Chinese surprise US suggested "US and People's Republic of China". This was immediately agreed to by Chinese side.

1. New Delhi, 27 July 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

## 20. Incidents in Saigon<sup>1</sup>

...Jawaharlal Nehru: Government have received full reports about the incidents that took place in Saigon on the 20th July.<sup>2</sup> Immediately on receipt of the first report on the 20th July, I sent a message to the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, Sir Anthony Eden and Mr Molotov, both of whom were at Geneva at the time.<sup>3</sup> Later, we transmitted both of them a unanimous resolution of the International Commission on this subject. I have received replies from both of them. They condemned the incidents and assured us that they were taking steps to ensure adequate protection to the International Commission in the discharge

1. Statement in the Parliament, 27 July 1955. From *Lok Sabha Debates*, 1955. Vol. IV, part I, cols. 3055-3059. Extracts.
2. V.D. Tripathi had asked a series of questions relating to the attack on the staff of ICSC at Saigon on 20 July 1955 and whether the Government of India had taken any steps to seek compensation for the damage done to the property of the personnel and whether they had received satisfactory guarantees from the Government of South Vietnam regarding safety and security of the personnel.
3. See *ante*, pp. 369-371.



of their duties. The two Co-Chairmen conferred with each other and also consulted representatives of the United States of America and France. It is understood that all these Four Powers have strongly urged the South Vietnam Government to take all necessary action for the proper functioning of the International Commission as well as for steps to be taken to organise election in terms of the Geneva Agreements.

The facts as reported to us are that there had been some demonstrations for some days in Saigon. Shri M.J. Desai, the Chairman of the Commission, had come to India for consultations. He returned to Saigon arriving there on the morning of the 20th July. Soon after, several hundred young men and boys armed with sticks, knives and hammers appeared outside the Hotel Majestic and the Hotel Galliene where the personnel of the International Supervisory Commission for Vietnam were staying. These people went in groups from room to room on all the floors of these hotels, broke open the rooms, cut off telephone connections, threatened the inmates and destroyed their personal belongings. Forty-four members of the Commission including the Chairman, lost all their personal belongings. A junior Indian member of the International Commission in Laos, who was on a visit to Saigon, was attacked and injured. No other member of the Commission suffered any injury. The Commission cars which were parked outside the Hotel Majestic, were burnt.

It appears that the Vietnamese security police outside the hotels, who were present throughout, did not intervene to stop the looting and arson. It was only after the damage had been done and the demonstrators had left the hotels that the security police took charge of the situation.

It would appear that these demonstrations and attacks against the International Commission had been planned previously. As there had been some previous demonstrations, the Commission had, on the 13th July, drawn the attention of the authorities to the need for maintaining law and order and adequate security. Apparently this request was not heeded.

Under article 25 of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam, the Commanders of the forces of the two parties are responsible for affording full protection and all possible assistance and cooperation to the International Commission and its Inspection Teams in the performance of the functions and tasks assigned to them by the Agreement. Since the Geneva Agreement had been signed by the Commander-in-Chief of the People's Army of Vietnam and the Commander-in-Chief of the French Union Forces in Indo-China, it was the latter who was primarily responsible for the safety and the security of the International Commission in South Vietnam. But, as the administration of law and order in South Vietnam now appears to be under the control of the State of Vietnam, the Government of South Vietnam were, in our view, as much responsible for giving this protection as the Commander-in-Chief of the French Union Forces.

The Government of India undertook the Chairmanship of the International Commission on the clear understanding of protection and cooperation of the Governments concerned. It is clear that the International Commission cannot function unless there is full safety and protection for them. The International Commission proposes to continue its work in the hope that the efforts of the two Co-Chairmen will succeed and their directions will be heeded.

I should like to record our Government's appreciation of the courage and determination shown by all the members of the International Commission in the difficult situation and the manner in which they suddenly confronted them.

I would like to add one matter which, I am sorry has not been dealt with, namely the question of compensation. This is a matter to be dealt with by the International Commission itself. The Government of India will not directly come into the picture. Compensation has been offered by the South Vietnam Government and it is for the International Commission to decide how to deal with the matter....<sup>4</sup>

JN: I find it difficult to answer this question, except that the facts should be brought before the public there. I should say it is particularly the function of the Government there itself to correct this kind of misunderstanding.<sup>5</sup>

The honourable member presumably is referring to certain outside interests. Obviously in South Vietnam there are interests which do not look forward to these elections or do not like to have them soon at any rate. If he is referring to outside interests, I should like to say that all the principal powers concerned have declared that they would like to have these elections.<sup>6</sup> I cannot naturally answer for some odd individuals and others functioning differently....<sup>7</sup>

4. D.C. Sharma wanted to know whether in South Vietnam anti-India propaganda was going on and India being dubbed as communist in order to inflame popular passions against India. He wanted to know what measures the Government proposed to counteract this.
5. H.N. Mukerjee had pointed out that there were "certain interests operating through their henchmen in South Vietnam" who were trying to wreck the Geneva Agreements, especially those in regard to the time-table for elections. He wanted to know whether any effort had been made to persuade Diem Government to respect Geneva Agreements.
6. A three power conference, attended by Antoine Pinay, J.F. Dulles and Harold Macmillan, took place in Paris from 7 to 12 May 1955. On 13 May, the French Prime Minister stated that there was complete agreement between the three powers regarding Indo-China and their joint aim was to help South Vietnam to get organised as a state and prepare itself in best circumstances possible to face elections next year in terms of Geneva Agreements.
7. Renu Chakravarty had asked whether there was an official resolution by the Diem Government denouncing the ICSC and opposing its moves for a general election.



May I say that this gentleman's name is pronounced as 'Shiem' and not Diem. There was a resolution; but how far it was official, I cannot say. But some member of his Government were associated with it...<sup>8</sup>

Some members of his Government, some Ministers were associated with it. In that sense you may say it was official, but it was not, as far as I remember, an official Government resolution....<sup>9</sup>

No, Sir; the position they have taken up has been that they are not bound by that Agreement, because they did not sign it. But they have said that while they are not bound by it, they will carry out the procedure involving the elections independent of that agreement....

The main part of the agreement now is to prepare for the elections next year. That is the main part....

8. On 2 May 1955, Ngo Dinh Nhu, brother of Diem, called a meeting of all party leaders for a "States General" convention. On 5 May, the "States General" renamed itself as the National Congress of Revolutionary Forces and formed a new Government under Diem. On the same day it passed several resolutions, important among them were: holding a referendum on Bao Dai's status; withdrawal of French Expeditionary Forces from South Vietnam; holding of elections to the National Assembly, but not on the lines suggested by the ICSC, which it dubbed as pro-Vietminh. The new Cabinet assumed power on 10 May 1955.
9. H.V. Kamath wanted to know whether the Diem Government had indicated their categorical acceptance of Geneva Agreement.

## 21. Cable to U Nu<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message.<sup>2</sup>

2. In Cambodia, the crisis created by US-Cambodia Military Aid Agreement has for the present passed owing to tactful handling by the

1. New Delhi, 28 July 1955. JN Collection.
2. On 28 July, U Nu had replied to Nehru's letter of 17 July, and had stated that he agreed with Nehru's assessment of Indo-China situation and the course of action suggested. Regarding US-China talks, to be started at Geneva from 1 August, he felt that "if both sides proceed with patience and magnanimity peaceful settlement of outstanding issues will be within reach." He sought Nehru's views on the recently concluded Four Power Conference.



WITH THE HEADS OF INDIAN MISSIONS IN EUROPE,  
SALZBURG, 28 JUNE 1955





WITH VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT, SALZBURG, 28 JUNE 1955

International Commission. Difficulties of course remain. In Laos there is continuing friction and trouble. At the same time the situation is under control and the two rival parties are having talks though not with great success.

3. The crux of the situation in Indo-China is Vietnam and the attitude of the South Vietnam Government in not recognising the Geneva Agreement and trying to avoid elections. Recent attack in Saigon on Commission undoubtedly encouraged by Government circles there. This has however reacted against them and even US Government has been alarmed and spoken strongly to Diem. It is difficult to say what developments will take place there.

4. Meeting of US and Chinese Ambassadors in Geneva is a good step though terms are strictly limited. However, I hope that it will lead to further steps. Probably it may result in American airmen prisoners in China being released and Chinese students in United States being allowed to return to China. This will further lessen tension.

5. Real question, however, is that of evacuation of coastal islands. Unless that is done, danger of conflict remains. I agree with you that United States and Chinese Foreign Ministers should meet. Possibly that might take place later.

6. Four Power meeting at Geneva, in a sense, achieved little. But, in another sense, it achieved a great deal. It did break down barriers and produced a healthier situation. There is no doubt that Soviet leaders were anxious to end cold war and they have impressed Western Powers with their sincerity in this matter.

7. After my visit to Soviet Union, I had long talk with Eden and Macmillan and gave them my appraisal of situation. After Geneva Conference Macmillan has said that my appraisal turned out to be amazingly correct. The result of all this is better feelings all around and a little less suspicion of each other which is all to the good.

8. Of course, tremendous difficulties remain and in the United States there are powerful forces against any settlement.

9. Far East situation is however more dangerous though it is quieter now. I have been reported as having asked for conference on Far East. I did not do so. When asked at press conference, I said that some time or other a conference will have to take place. Personally I think that time is not yet ripe for that. We must wait for further development.

10. I have written a confidential note on my visit to the Soviet Union. I am having a copy sent to you for your personal perusal.



## 22. Cable to N. Raghavan<sup>1</sup>

I have seen Krishna Menon's telegram to you 1549.<sup>2</sup> I feel that recent developments, including Four Power Conference in Geneva, have definitely eased tension and opened out fresh avenues. Even US-China ambassadorial talks in Geneva, though limited in scope, may well lead to further step. We should therefore, approach these questions in hopeful spirit. I understand that Molotov welcomed US-China talks with some enthusiasm.

2. In your talks with Chou En-lai you should therefore, be frank and hopeful. Your inquiries from him should be put in general way so as not to embarrass him at all. There is no doubt that if US airmen released in China, this would have very good effect on American attitude and general situation.<sup>3</sup> Probably this will now have to await Geneva talks.

3. You will have noticed that US Government have clearly stated that forthcoming US-China talks at Geneva are result of India's and Burma's effort.<sup>4</sup>

4. Eden and Macmillan have been much impressed by friendly attitude of Soviet representatives at Geneva. They have expressed their gratitude to me for my assessment of Russian situation which I gave them in London and which they say proved correct every time and was very helpful.<sup>5</sup>

1. New Delhi, 28 July 1955. JN Collection.

2. Menon had cabled on 27 July seeking the Chinese reactions to the Geneva Conference. He had informed that Dulles had given very hopeful hints regarding US-China talks by saying that the US would be ready to "listen to matters of exclusive concern" to both countries. Given the virtual ceasefire in the Far East, Menon suggested that it might be helpful to request China for the release of the eleven US airmen. He wanted to know whether the Chinese reply to this request would be communicated through the British or the Indian channel to the US.

3. The eleven US airmen were released on 1 August 1955.

4. This was conveyed to Nehru by Dulles on 6 July.

5. See *ante*, p. 377.

## 23. Message to D.D. Eisenhower<sup>1</sup>

My dear Mr President,

I have followed with deep interest proceedings of Four Power Conference in Geneva in which you took such a leading and helpful part. Although in the circumstances no definite result could be attained at that stage may I congratulate you on the lessening of tension and considerable improvement in international situation as result of this Conference. I have no doubt that under your leadership this process will continue and lead to substantial result.

It would make us very happy if you could visit India as our honoured guest.<sup>2</sup> I know the heavy responsibility that you carry and that it is not easy for you to leave the United States. But whenever it is convenient for you to come to India, you would be most welcome.<sup>3</sup>

With regard,

Sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. New Delhi, 28 July 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. This message was sent through G.L. Mehta.
2. John Sherman Cooper, in a letter on 30 July to Dulles, had surmised that if the President accepted the invitation, "it would infuse new spirit and determination in those standing up against communism, and most important, catch the imagination of the people in this area." To Eisenhower, on the same date, Cooper wrote that your visit would give "opportunity to destroy the communist slogan, which has many believers, that US wants war." It would also give a correct interpretation to US policies "which have been so twisted by communists."
3. Eisenhower politely declined the invitation on 3 August. To Cooper, on 10 August, Dulles wrote: "The President of the United States is in a sense the ultimate sanction the nation has and it should be used sparingly or else it will soon become looked upon as ordinary."



## 24. Cable to N. Raghavan<sup>1</sup>

Received first two parts of your telegram 30 July 30.<sup>2</sup> Agree that it is not necessary at present for you to ask Chinese about our good offices etc. We should await further developments and initiative to come from Chou En-lai.

Chou En-lai's speech has appeared in newspapers here. Krishna Menon is already on way back. He is spending one day in Geneva for personal reasons.<sup>3</sup> He may call on American and Chinese Ambassadors.

Our Ambassador in Washington informs us that British Ambassador there told him that he found Dulles flexible in his attitude towards negotiations with China. Dulles attached vital importance to release of American fliers and civilians and said that if China made a gesture in this issue, further negotiations would be facilitated. He indicated further that he might also be prepared to consider question of visas to private American citizens for visiting China if American prisoners were released.

It is clear that there has been marked change in United States since Four Power Conference at Geneva. There is less tension and there is general expectation of further steps. I am sure that release of American airmen would have powerful effect in America. I imagine that this as well as question of Chinese students in America may well be disposed of in course of ambassadorial talks in Geneva.

1. New Delhi, 31 July 1955. JN Collection.
2. Raghavan had conveyed contents of Chou En-lai's foreign policy address to the Chinese People's Congress on 30 July 1955. Chou, while admitting that international tensions had relaxed, reiterated demand for world peace, disarmament, banning of nuclear weapons, abolition of military blocs and bases, and unrestricted trade. He described the "Five Principles" as a model code of international conduct as depicted by India, Myanmar, Indonesia and China and adherence to these principles, thus, proved that "area of peace was realistic and attainable." He supported the proposal for a Far East Conference of Asian Countries to settle outstanding issues such as Indo-China and Formosa. He expressed the desire of the Chinese people that countries of "Asia and Pacific region, including the USA, would sign a collective peace treaty" so that "collective peace first adopted by the Government of India may be realised."
3. In a telegram to Menon on 29 July Nehru had stated that he wished to avoid giving an impression that Menon was trying to bring pressure on the US-China talks, which would have had "unfortunate" consequences in America. Raghavan in his telegram of 30 July to Nehru had stated that it was advisable for Menon to stay away from the US-China talks, so that for the Chinese, both Indian and British channels were kept open for negotiation and the impression that India was trying to "hurry things up" was not created on them.

## 25. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

You will have received copy of Raghavan's message to me 302 conveying substance of Chou's talk with him.<sup>2</sup> You will of course be seeing the two Ambassadors in Geneva. I think that any approach to US Government should now be made directly from Delhi. I am, therefore, seeing Cooper this morning and informing him of Chinese Government's decision. Further mentioning to him about desirability for United States to take action in regard to Chinese students and embargo.

If Chou wishes to give credit to India and Burma, it is for him to say so, not for us.

We shall expect you here on 4th August morning.

1. New Delhi, 1 August 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Chou En-lai had expressed his gratitude to Nehru and Menon for their efforts to lessen tension between US and China. He had also praised the consistent efforts of India and Myanmar in helping reduce international tensions.

## 26. Instructions for M.J. Desai<sup>1</sup>

I agree generally with the line of action suggested by Krishna Menon.<sup>2</sup> We should certainly not compromise our position in any way and this should be made quite clear to M.J. Desai.

2. I think also that we shall have to refer the matter to the Co-Presidents and further that it would be desirable informally to keep the French informed.<sup>3</sup>

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 19 August 1955. JN Collection.
2. Krishna Menon, in a note dated 18 August, had put forward an analysis of the position of ICSC in South Vietnam, including its legal and international implications, and had suggested that M.J. Desai should be instructed not to "compromise" on a de jure matter without invoking the assistance of the Geneva Co-Chairmen, so as not to place India in an embarrassing or illegal position.
3. Menon interpreted that pressure should be brought upon the French, who were the co-signatories of the Agreement and hence, had certain rights and obligations in this regard. He contended, "If the French signed the Agreement on behalf of the High Command of their side, according to international law it would be binding on all the participants under their command," which included the Diem regime.



3. If Mr Diem's position, as taken up in regard to the Geneva Agreement, is final and is accepted by the Geneva Powers, then, of course, our position becomes untenable in Vietnam, because we have no other function there except that under the Geneva Agreement. But so long as there is an element of doubt, and our position is not compromised, we can continue.<sup>4</sup>

4. CS might therefore inform M.J. Desai both about our position and about the steps we intend taking and get his reactions to them.

4. Despite Diem's non-recognition of Geneva Agreement, the element of doubt arose, according to Menon, because, if Diem challenged France's authority to sign the Agreement or contended that now the French had ceased to have any authority, in both cases his position would be untenable. Further, Diem being a successor Government and Bao Dai still being the head of the State, made the locus standi of the ICSC formidable.

## **27. Cable to Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen<sup>1</sup>**

I wish to address you a difficult situation which has developed in Cambodia concerning payment of the expenses of the International Supervisory Commission.

2. You will recall that in August last year with the agreement of Poland and Canada the Government of India suggested that the Powers represented in the Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China should be responsible for the payment of salaries and allowances of the members of their respective national delegations and of their personnel on the fixed and mobile Inspection Teams. All other expenses including board, lodging, transportation etc., of the national delegations and all expenses of the International Secretariat and the common services should be met under arrangements to be made by the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. UK Government accepted this proposal in principle and informed us that it was also agreed to by the Government of USSR. Further, the UK and USSR Governments agreed between themselves to recommend to the other Geneva Conference Powers that expenditure other than accepted by the Supervisory Powers should be met partly by the Indo-Chinese members of the Conference namely, Cambodia, Laos, the State of Vietnam, and DRVN, and partly by the four Big Powers, China, the Soviet Union, France and the

1. New Delhi, 20 August 1955. JN Collection.

United Kingdom. The former were to meet the local expenses of the Commissions. The local expenses were to be separately calculated for each of the three Indo-China Supervisory Commissions and in the case of Cambodia were to be met in equal shares by the Cambodian Government and the DRVN.

3. I understand that these proposals have not yet received the formal agreement of all the Geneva Powers. Meanwhile, the mounting expenses of the Commission in Cambodia have been met partly from the initial advance made by the three Supervisory Powers and partly by the Government of Cambodia on its own and on the Commission's behalf subject to future adjustment. According to the Chairman of the Commission<sup>2</sup> a rough estimate of expenditure on Commission so far is 26 million (half 52) piastres (US dollars 745,000), out of which Commission's liabilities, as distinct from the Cambodian Government's, amount to nearly 20 (half 40) million piastres (US dollars 572,000). Unpaid food bills, which are a liability of the Four Big Powers amounting to nearly 10 (half 20) million piastres (US dollars 285,000) are outstanding.

4. The Chairman of the Commission brought this difficult situation to our notice in July and we conveyed our concern to the representatives of your Government in Delhi. The Chairman has again cabled us that hotels and contractors catering to boarding establishments for Commission's personnel have not received payment from Cambodian Government for several months and have threatened to stop future supplies and services unless they are paid within a week. He has drawn attention to the embarrassing situation in which the Commission finds itself since the Commission has no funds and the Cambodian Government state their inability to make any further payments unless Commission advances money to them immediately.

5. Chairman also reports that monthly total expenses of the Commission are in the region of two and a half million piastres (US dollars 71,000) and has asked that sufficient funds be made available to enable payments to hotels being made directly from the common pool in future.

6. The delay in securing formal agreement to the proposals for the allocation of expenditure between the Geneva Powers has probably been unavoidable. The resources of the Cambodian Government are however limited. Commission has now been functioning for over a year and it is most undesirable that their continued functioning should be dependent on the benevolence of contractors and hotel proprietors and on the indulgence of the Cambodian Government.

7. We would suggest that the Co-Chairmen arrange to make available to the Commission immediately US dollars 430,000 (half 860,000) as suggested by the Chairman of the Commission, against liabilities already incurred.



Furthermore, I would request you to consider making arrangements for sufficient funds to be available at regular intervals in future to enable the Commission to make direct payments of hotel bills etc. from the common pool.

8. I shall be grateful for your urgent attention to this matter.<sup>3</sup>

3. Harold Macmillan replied to Nehru on 31 August stating that he had already informed USSR and China to contribute \$ 125,000 each, along with UK, for this purpose which would take care of the present burden of the Commission. Referring to Nehru's suggestion for an advance of \$ 430,000, he clarified that the concerned Governments could only make payment in sterling. Nehru accordingly informed the three chairmen of ICSC about this arrangement on the same day.

## 28. Cable to N. Raghavan<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 343 August 26. I am leaving for four days' tour in Assam and I am replying briefly.

We have been receiving reports from our Consul General at Geneva about developments there. I am grateful to Chou En-lai for this arrangements which enables us to be kept informed.

There is no question of our asking the Red Cross or any other like organisation to undertake the work of repatriation of Chinese from US.<sup>2</sup> We shall have to do it through our embassy and consulates. Depending upon the work, we may have to nominate special officers, but even these would function naturally through the embassy or consulate.

1. New Delhi, 26 August 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Raghavan had informed Nehru that there were suggestions in the British Foreign Office circles regarding choice of an agency to monitor the repatriation of Chinese nationals in US who wished to return home. In this regard the Red Cross was mentioned. The Chinese had been insisting that India take up the burden of such a work.

## FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA





1. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 July 1955

My dear Gadgil,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 14th July about Goa.<sup>3</sup> I have read the report of the Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti also.<sup>4</sup> We are naturally considering this matter very carefully and we shall discuss it not only on the Government level but in the Working Committee soon.<sup>5</sup>

Broadly speaking, I feel that, however our general policy may be varied, it should remain essentially peaceful. I have no doubt that we are making good progress. I can well understand the excitement and resentment of our people. That is right, but I think that in the end our success will be achieved through peaceful methods and this will have good results in many ways.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. N.V. Gadgil Papers, NMML. Also available in File No. G-76/1955, AICC Papers, NMML and JN Collection.
2. Congress member of Lok Sabha from Bombay.
3. Gadgil had enclosed a memorandum written by J.S. Tilak, Secretary, Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti (All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee, formed in June 1954 at Pune) seeking clarifications regarding Congress policy towards the Goa movement. Gadgil had vouched for the credibility of the organisation as being non-partisan and "not anti-Congress", and had stated that while he himself believed that there should be a steady flow of *satyagrahis* to Goa, there were many who posed "genuine doubts about the necessity and desirability of Congress policy" towards Goa. Given the international character of the problem, Gadgil had sought Nehru's opinion regarding review of the present policy.
4. The memorandum delineated the circumstances under which the Samiti came into being, to act as a coordinating body to liberate Goa and help the "Goan patriots carrying on the struggle against colonialism" inside Goa. Recounting the brutal and repressive methods of the Portuguese Government to tackle the movement, it suggested that the Congress or the Government of India should now let the mass indignation of Indians be given free play and allow for mass *satyagraha* from 15 August 1955 to liberate Goa.
5. See *post*, pp. 389-393.



## 2. To Lanka Sundaram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
21 July 1955

Dear Dr Lanka Sundaram,

In regard to the defence of Goray<sup>2</sup> and Limaye<sup>3</sup> in Goa,<sup>4</sup> we have been informed by the Portuguese Government that a local lawyer can appear as defence counsel. We have, therefore, instructed a local lawyer to do so.

In regard to an Indian lawyer from outside going to Goa, we have been informed by the Portuguese Government that they had no objection in principle to an Indian lawyer about whom they had nothing adverse being granted facilities to enter Goa and assist the local lawyer in his private capacity in defence of Goray and Limaye, but that it is not permissible for an Indian lawyer under Portuguese law to appear in local courts or before the military tribunal.

We are, therefore, asking the Bombay Government to inform the friends of Goray and Limaye that they can engage privately an Indian lawyer, if they so choose, who can function in the limited capacity indicated by the Portuguese Government.<sup>5</sup> When the name of the Indian lawyer is communicated to the Bombay Government, the Portuguese Government will be asked for facilities for his entry.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Foreign Secretary.
2. Narayan Ganesh Goray (1907-1993); member, AICC, 1936-39; Joint Secretary, Socialist Party, 1948-53, General Secretary, 1957-1962, Chairman, 1964 and of PSP, 1970; member, Lok Sabha, 1957-1962; member, Rajya Sabha, 1970-1976; High Commissioner to Britain, 1977-79.
3. Madhu Limaye (1922-1995); associated with Indian National Congress, 1938-48, imprisoned during freedom movement, 1940-45; sentenced to 12 years imprisonment in Goa Liberation Movement, 1955, and spent over 19 months in Portuguese captivity; Member, Congress Socialist Party, 1938-48, Secretary, Socialist Party, 1952-55, Chairman, Socialist Party, 1958-59; General Secretary, Janata Party, May 1977; member, Lok Sabha, 1964-70, 1973-77; author of *Communist Party: Facts and Fiction; Evolution of Socialist Policy; Why SSP*.
4. N.G. Goray and Madhu Limaye had been part of a Goa *Satyagrahi jatha*, organised by All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee. This group tried to enter Goa on 18 May, 27 May, 4 June, 12 June and 18 June. Most of the time they were beaten up and pushed back, but on the last occasion their leaders were arrested by the Portuguese police. Goray was arrested on 18 May.
5. Nehru made a statement in this regard in the Lok Sabha on 10 August 1955 (Not printed).

### 3. CWC Resolution on Goa<sup>1</sup>

The Working Committee have given careful and anxious consideration to the situation in Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India. The Committee have noted the courageous and sustained efforts of Goans to secure, through peaceful methods, the liberation of these territories and their integration with the Union of India and convey to them their goodwill and full sympathy. The Committee regret that these peaceful attempts have been met by brutal methods by the Portuguese administration of Goa resulting in two deaths and heavy injuries caused to many by beatings.<sup>2</sup>

The people of Goa have in the long past on more than one occasion, asserted their right to freedom and were suppressed by the Portuguese authorities. Subsequently, in 1946, another attempt was made to assert this right to Goa's freedom. The Working Committee referred to this in a resolution passed in Wardha in August 1946. In the course of this resolution, the Working Committee said:

Recent events in Goa have compelled attention and brought to light the extremely backward state of these possessions. Economically, the people of these possessions have been reduced to poverty and degradation; politically they have practically no rights and even the most elementary civil liberties are denied. The fascist authoritarian administration of Portugal functions in a peculiarly oppressive way in this very small colony, which was once rich and prosperous and a centre of commercial activity and now is deserted with its people migrating elsewhere in search of a living. Goa has always been and must inevitably continue to be part of India. It must share in the freedom of the Indian people. What its future position and status will be in a free India, can only be determined in consultation with the people of Goa and not by any external authority.

Two years later, in 1948, the Jaipur Session of the Congress passed a resolution on foreign possessions in India, and enunciated clearly the Congress policy in regard to them. This resolution was as follows:-

1. Drafted by Nehru for CWC, 23 July 1955. File No. G-76/1955. AICC Papers, NMML.
2. Since June 1954, according to the All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee, about 2500 people had been arrested, out of which, about 500 people were being held in prison awaiting trial, by the Portuguese authorities.



The chequered course of India's history during the last two hundred years or more has left certain foreign possessions in various parts of the country. These foreign possessions continued for this long period because India herself was under alien domination. With the establishment of independence in India, the continued existence of any foreign possession in India become anomalous and opposed to the conception of India's unity and freedom. Therefore, it has become necessary for these possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts that this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly cooperation of the Governments concerned. The Congress realises that during this long period administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems have grown up in these foreign possessions which are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any change over therefore, must take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual adjustment which will not interfere with the life of the people of the areas concerned. The Congress would welcome the present cultural heritage of these possessions to be continued, insofar as the people of those possessions desire, and for a measure of autonomy to be granted wherever possible, so as to enable the people of those possessions to maintain their culture and institutions within the larger framework of free India.

Other resolutions have been passed from time to time by the Congress or its committees in regard to foreign establishments in India and, more particularly, Goa. The Calcutta Session of the AICC in March 1952 stated that it "regrets the delay in the peaceful transfer of foreign settlements in India to the Indian Union. Such a transfer is essential from the point of view of the removal of any element of foreign domination in India and for the unity and security of India."

In July 1954, the Ajmer session of the AICC stated that it "regrets to note that the Portuguese Government has taken up a wholly indefensible attitude in regard to Goa and its other establishments in India and is carrying on a policy of intense repression against those who favour merger with India. The integration of these foreign establishments into the Indian Union is an essential part of the liberation movement in India which led to the independence of India. That movement will not have fulfilled its purpose till these foreign pockets also are freed and brought into the Indian Union." This resolution further declared that in regard to these foreign establishments in India, "their religion, culture, customs and language will be given adequate protection."

In 1954, a friendly settlement was arrived at between the Government of

India and the Government of the French Republic in regard to the French establishments in India which resulted in the de facto transfer of these establishments to the Union of India.<sup>3</sup> The Avadi Session of the Congress, meeting in January 1955, welcomed this settlement and again gave the assurance that "French culture will continue to be preserved in Pondicherry, thus adding to the richness of India's life and culture." The Congress went on to say that it "is confident that the Portuguese settlements in India will also join the Indian Union before long and thus satisfy the aspirations of the people of those territories and complete the political integration of India."

It will thus be seen that the great movement for the freedom and independence of India always envisaged the Portuguese establishments in India as an integral part of this country which must share with the rest of the Indian people the freedom that India was striving for. Ever since independence, this fact has been repeatedly stated and, at the same time, cultural assurances have been given to the people of Goa. In accordance with the basic policy of the Congress and the traditions of the Indian national movement, peaceful methods for the solution of this question of Goa were always advocated and it was hoped that the transfer of the foreign pockets in India would take place peacefully and through negotiated settlement with the countries concerned. This hope was realised in the case of the French possessions. But, in spite of every effort of the Government of India, the Portuguese Government has refused even to enter into any negotiations for this purpose and has continued its policy of intense repression of the people of Goa and utter denial of all forms of freedom or civil liberty.

In spite of this attitude of the Portuguese Government, the Congress has adhered to its peaceful methods and has advised the people of India, as well as Goa particularly, accordingly. During the past few years thousands of Goans have suffered in the struggle for the freedom of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union. The Goanese people have thus demonstrated in the most active manner their will to be freed from foreign domination and to join in comradeship in the freedom of the people of India.

The Portuguese Government have claimed that Goa is a centre of European culture, and, more particularly, of the Christian Catholic faith and that any transfer to India would imperil this culture and this faith. The so-called European culture represented by Portugal in Goa is a denial of every thing that most countries of Europe stand for today. It is a denial of political freedom, of civil liberty and of economic and cultural advance. It is the conversion of Goa into a backward poverty-stricken territory where the people have no rights or liberty, in marked contrast to the political freedom and economic advance of the rest of India.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 221, 224-25.



The argument about the danger to the Christian Catholic Church in Goa has been countered by eminent dignitaries of the Catholic Church<sup>4</sup> and by the fact that a large number of Catholics have participated in the struggle for Goa's freedom. It is further to be remembered that there are many millions of Catholics in the rest of India having the same freedom, political, cultural and religious, as the other people of India. Further, the population of Goa, which is about 600,000 consists of about one-third of Catholics and two-thirds of non-Christians. There are also large numbers of Goans living outside Goa in Indian territory.<sup>5</sup> The Government of India have made it perfectly clear on repeated occasions that the religion, culture, language and customs of the people of Goa will be protected and given freedom to function.

While, therefore, it is clear that the wishes of the people of Goa are for a merger with the Union of India, it is equally clear that India's liberation will not be complete till these remaining foreign pockets in India are also liberated and join the rest of India. For a foreign European power to hold on to any territory, however small, in India, will always be a source of danger to India as well as a denial of freedom to the people of that area.

In the circumstances detailed above, it becomes the right and duty of the people of Goa and the people of the rest of India, as well as of the Government of India, to strive for the liberation of Goa and its integration with the Union of India. The Working Committee has therefore, welcomed the struggle for freedom and given it its sympathy. But, in accordance with its firm and declared policy, it has always emphasised that all methods employed must be peaceful. Any other method would be not only against India's national and international policy, but would create further and difficult problems. In a world which is continually thinking in terms of armed might, India has stood for a peaceful solution of conflicts and differences. The Working Committee are, therefore, clear that this peaceful policy of India must be continued and no attempts at violent solution of the problem should be encouraged.

The Working Committee are also of opinion that, while everyone in India is naturally and deeply interested in the freedom of Goa from foreign control, it is principally for the Goans themselves to carry on the struggle through peaceful methods. Satyagraha must be peaceful. These methods, as India's past history has shown, bear far-reaching results even though they might appear to be slow-moving.

4. On 8 July, Nehru met the Pope for twenty minutes at the Vatican and stated afterwards in a press conference that the Pontiff had agreed with his view that Goa was a "purely political problem", not a religious one.
5. Out of a total population of approximately 638,000 in Goa, Daman and Diu, about 250,000 had been employed in India. Till June 1955 the total imports to Goa had been £6,900,000 per year and total exports was £4,00,000. This deficit in the economy was mostly met by the remittance money.

The Working Committee are not in favour of attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside with a view to offering satyagraha, as this is likely to change the nature of peaceful satyagraha and might actually come in the way of the realisation of the objective.

The Working Committee trust that the Government of India will take every legitimate step, consistent with this peaceful policy, to further the cause of the liberation of Goa. The Committee also hopes that the Portuguese Government will ultimately realise that the attitude it has taken up in this matter is indefensible and opposed to the current of history and the spirit of the times. That attitude and policy will have to be given up. It is, therefore, far more desirable for this question to be settled as early as possible through peaceful negotiation than to delay matters till feelings are more strained and future relations of India and Portugal affected.

#### 4. Continuance of Peaceful Policy<sup>1</sup>

I am returning to you the note to be presented to the Portuguese Charge d'Affaires tomorrow morning.<sup>2</sup> This may stand as it is and no changes are necessary.

2. The draft telegram to our Missions. You should add to this:

“Tomorrow, in the Lok Sabha, Prime Minister will make it clear again that Government's policy will continue to be peaceful and that they do not approve of any attempts on mass entry of *satyagrahis* into Goa. Government will of course continue economic and like sanctions.”<sup>3</sup>

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary and Joint Secretary (E), MEA, 24 July 1955. JN Collection.
2. The note presented to the Portuguese authorities on 25 July denied the Portuguese allegation, conveyed on 8 June, that the Indian Government had a hand in the intensification of the agitation on Goa border. The Portuguese note had been sent in response to Nehru's statements in a Press Conference of 31 May 1955 printed in *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, pp. 300-304. Further the Government of India informed that since no useful purpose was being served by the Portuguese legation in Delhi, Portugal should withdraw its Consul General from Delhi.
3. Economic measures the Government of India took against Goa included restriction on money transfer, stricter control on import of essential goods like steel, textiles, etc., ban on import of Indian labour and stricter border vigil to stop smuggling. Posts and telegraph and money order services to Goa were suspended.



“Congress Working Committee has issued long statement on Goa today which may be presumed to be in line with Government’s policy.<sup>4</sup> In this statement also stress has been laid on peaceful methods and attempts at large scale entry into Goa disapproved of. Thus, there is no likelihood of any serious conflict arising, as apprehended by Portuguese and others, on 1st August and 15th August. *Satyagrahis* in small numbers may continue to enter Goa as before. In any event, it is Government’s policy not to encourage any step which might produce such conflict.”

“Publicity should only be given to this action after the Prime Minister’s statement in Lok Sabha tomorrow. Till then it should be kept secret, although Portuguese Legation here has already stated to Reuter that they expect some such development.”

I am afraid we have not been careful enough in keeping this matter secret. The Reuter’s agent has told us that the Portuguese Legation stated to him that they expected to get this notice tomorrow morning from the External Affairs Ministry.

4. The CWC statement was in line with the draft CWC resolution, see *ante*, pp. 389-393.

## 5. Situation in Goa<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I beg leave, Sir, to make a statement in regard to the situation in Goa.

This House and all our countrymen are deeply interested in the problem of the Portuguese enclaves in India. Because of this and the importance of the problem, I have from time to time kept this House informed of developments there and of the policy that Government was pursuing. On the 4th of May last, in a statement in the Lok Sabha, I expressed our concern at some recent developments in Goa which indicated a deepening of the crisis there. During the past two months, there have been further grave developments which

1. Statement in the Parliament, 25 July 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vol. V, Part II, cols. 8289-8296.

have caused anxiety and aroused intense feeling throughout India as well as in Goa.<sup>2</sup>

I should like to remind the House that the struggle of the Goans for freedom and for integration with the Union of India is not a new development. It dates back a considerable time. More particularly, in 1946, the prospect of India becoming independent soon naturally brought hope to the Goans, and they made an attempt to free themselves. This attempt failed. Ever since then, there has been a continuing agitation in Goa, and many Goan patriots have suffered because of this. Eminent citizens have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment or deported. Even an expression of opinion in favour of integration with India or a verbal protest has led to imprisonment, loss of civil rights and sometimes deportation. There is a complete absence of civil rights in Goa, and the normal methods of constitutional agitation are forbidden and suppressed. Nevertheless, the movement for Goan freedom from Portuguese rule has continued. The Portuguese Government has often stated that there is no political movement inside Goa. This is a manifestly wrong statement.<sup>3</sup>

About a year ago, the agitation in Goa became more vigorous and demonstrative.<sup>4</sup> This led to greater repression by the Portuguese authorities. A new turn was given to the movement then by Goans within Goa as well as outside performing some form of *satyagraha*. This was largely confined to Goans though, occasionally, non-Goans also participated.

2. *Satyagrahis*, who had started entering Goa from 18 May 1955 in batches of about fifteen to fifty were beaten up and fired upon and their leaders detained. On 5 May, the All Party Parliamentary Committee for Goa, under the Presidentship of Frank Anthony, was formed to mobilize public opinion all over the country. On 21 May it resolved to urge the Government of India to settle the issue by negotiation or else enforce "suitable sanctions to eliminate remnants of colonialism" from Indian soil.
3. The Nationalist movement in Goa had been evident since 1928, when the Goa Congress Committee was founded by T.B. Cunha. In 1953, the Goa National Congress was formed under Peter Alvares. In June 1954, All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee was formed and in July A. Soares formed Goa Liberation Council. Defying the Portuguese ban, the Goa National Congress held its session in Goa on 6 April 1955, in which about 2500 people were arrested.
4. In fact, the Goa agitation intensified in the middle of 1954, when on 18 June the Indian National Flag was hoisted in Margaon and demonstrators were arrested. On 15 July 1954 the Goa Action Committee was formed in Mumbai which resolved to "march on Goa" on 15 August 1954. On 22 July the Goan People's Party (dominated by CPI, PSP and PWP) and Azad Goa Dal (dominated by Hindu Mahasabha, Jana Sangh and RSS) volunteers took over the administration of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Before 15 August 1954 the Portuguese authorities proclaimed a siege of the settlement, banned entry of Indians and expelled 4000 Indians for not possessing proper documents. On 15 August 1954, several batches of *satyagrahis* entered Goa and at Terekhol police opened fire and killed one and injured several.



Government was anxious that this problem should be settled peacefully and if possible by negotiations with the Portuguese Government. This was the policy Government had adopted both in regard to the French settlements and the Portuguese settlements in India. As the House knows, this policy met with success in regard to the French settlements and an agreement was arrived at with the French Government. In regard to Goa, however, the Portuguese Government have consistently refused to have negotiations or even to discuss this matter. On some occasions, the Government of India's notes addressed to the Portuguese Government have not been accepted by them.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, it was the firm policy of the Government to pursue peaceful methods only.

When satyagraha started within Goa as well as outside, the Government had to give careful thought to this new development. In regard to satyagraha inside Goa, the Government of India naturally had no concern. Regarding the entry of *satyagrahis* into the Portuguese territories, the Government of India's attitude has been to discourage non-Goans from participating in the satyagraha. They also do not look with favour on any mass entry of *satyagrahis*. In August 1954, a serious situation had arisen but any crisis was avoided because of this policy of Government and the cooperation that people generally gave to it.

Satyagraha, however, has continued ever since then from time to time. On the 18th May, a group of peaceful *satyagrahis* under the leadership of Shri Goray entered Goa. The Portuguese authorities opened fire on these peaceful men, injuring four of them and later severely beating and manhandling them. Shri Goray and the injured *satyagrahis* were kept in police custody while the others were pushed out into Indian territory.

Since the 18th May, twelve more groups of peaceful *satyagrahis* have entered the territory of Goa. These *satyagrahis* have been treated with considerable brutality. They have been assaulted and beaten till some of them have lost consciousness. It is reported that some of these persons were trampled upon after they had fallen down.

One of the injured *satyagrahis*, Shri Amir Chand Gupta, was put back into Indian territory in an unconscious state and succumbed to his injuries. Many others were admitted into hospital, suffering from compound fractures and other serious injuries. Another group of *satyagrahis* led by Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi, on the 25th June, was also fired upon, resulting in injuries to the *satyagrahis*.

It is reported that another person Shri Maparia, Goan, who was not a *satyagrahi*, also met his death because of the severe beating he had received.

Since May last, about eight hundred *satyagrahis* have entered Goa in different groups and at different times. Of these, nine have been detained and

5. The Portuguese Government rejected outright the Indian Government's proposals of 6 September 1954, 12 January 1955, and 11 April 1955.

the others have been thrust back into Indian territory often after a beating. Among those detained are Shri N.G. Goray, Madhu Limaye and a Member of this House, Shri Tridib Chaudhuri.<sup>6</sup>

Some of those in custody have been brought for trial before a local military tribunal. Up till now, so far as our information goes, 122 Goans, most of whom are resident in Goa itself have been sentenced to terms of rigorous imprisonment ranging from one to twenty-eight years. They have been denied the status of political prisoners and are being treated as common criminals. Thirteen Indians have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment of eight to nine years.

According to our information, the satyagraha conducted chiefly by Goans as well as some Indians, has been completely peaceful. But some violent acts have been reported as having occurred inside Goa. The Portuguese authorities have stated that these violent activities have been carried out by Indians and by armed personnel from India. This is completely untrue. The *satyagrahis* have no connection with this and no armed personnel of India has crossed the border. These petty acts of violence are apparently done by some odd individuals within Goa itself as a result of desperation following the repressive policy of the Portuguese Government.

The Portuguese Government have repeatedly stated, firstly, that there is no movement inside Goa and secondly, that such as there is, is not indigenous and is organised and initiated in India. While it is true that in recent months some Indians have participated in the satyagraha, the movement has been essentially a Goan movement. This is borne out by the fact that in the course of last year about 2,500 Goans have been arrested and subjected to great physical and mental suffering. Even now, about 450 Goans are still in custody.

The Portuguese Government in their propaganda in Goa and abroad, have laid repeated stress on the religious and cultural aspect of the problem. Their claim is that Goa is a part of Portugal, a claim which is manifestly absurd.

According to Portuguese official statistics published in 1951, out of a total population of 6,38,000 in the Portuguese enclaves, all but 1,438 persons are of purely Indian origin. These are hardly distinguishable in language, customs and manners from their brethren across the border. Sixty-one per cent of the population profess the Hindu faith and about thirty-seven per cent are Christian Catholics. There are also some Muslims. Only a small percentage of the total population can read and write Portuguese, while the common languages are Marathi, Konkani and Gujarati.

6. Tridib Chaudhuri (1911-1997); member, AICC, 1936-39, Congress Socialist Party, 1938-40; founder member and General Secretary of Revolutionary Socialist Party; imprisoned by Portuguese Government in Goa, 1955-57; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-84; member, Rajya Sabha, 1987-1997; author of : *Left, Right, Left: Swing Back: Syndicate vs Indicate*.



No religious or cultural question arises in Goa. It is well known that there are many millions of Christians who are nationals of India, most of them being Catholics. It has also been repeatedly stated by Government that the religions, customs and languages of the people of Goa will be respected and protected.

The Government of India had opened a Legation in Lisbon in the hope that this might help in bringing about direct negotiations with the Portuguese Government over the question of Goa. But, on the continued refusal of the Portuguese Government even to discuss this question, the Government of India felt that there was no advantage in keeping the Mission which had ceased to be of practical utility. The Government, therefore, withdrew their representative from Lisbon in July 1953 and closed their Legation there. Even so, the Government of India hoped that it might be possible to achieve a negotiated settlement by peaceful means and they took no steps for the closure of the Portuguese Legation in Delhi, which has continued to function here. A proposal was made last year for representatives of the two Governments to meet together without any prior commitments. Even this was rejected by the Portuguese Government. In view of this as well as because of recent developments, the Government of India have come to the conclusion that the continued functioning of the Portuguese Legation in Delhi in existing circumstances serves no useful purpose. They have accordingly decided to ask for the closure of this Legation. A note to this effect was personally given this morning by the Foreign Secretary to the Portuguese Charge d'Affaires. The closure of the Legation will take effect from the 8th August 1955.

As will be evident, the Government of India have exercised the utmost patience and restraint in dealing with the situation in Goa, in spite of the strong and natural feelings of the people of India and Goa. In accordance with their general policy, they will continue to seek a peaceful settlement and will welcome negotiations with the Portuguese Government. No one who knows anything about the past history of Goa and India, the geographical and cultural affinities, and the wishes of the people of Goa and India, can doubt that Goa is an integral part of India and must inevitably become a part of the Indian Union, while preserving its cultural and other interests in accordance with the wishes of the people there. The Government of India hope that, in spite of all that has happened, the Portuguese Government will reconsider their policy and will make a friendly response to their proposal for a negotiated settlement.

The Government of India are firmly convinced that only peaceful methods should be followed and they do not approve of any action which would encourage a resort to violence.

There is one other matter, Sir, which I should like to mention. It really is not directly connected with the statement I have made. In this morning's newspapers Members no doubt have seen a news item to the effect that certain railway services to Goa have been suspended. That is a result of an entirely

different course of events. What has happened and the position there is that in regard to the railway services the Indian Railways run the services within Goa under a contract with a British Railway which apparently deals with it on behalf of the Portuguese Government. Now, there are two ways of running this railway. There are shuttles—Indian trains—that go to the border and shuttle trains on the other side of the border which serve the other side. In addition to this, there were through-trains going. Now, it was discovered by our railway people, about two months ago or more, that in that small space between the two shuttle services some obstructions had been placed which might be in the nature of mines. The railway engineers reported this; this was on either side of the Sanvarden railway station. This matter was reported to the Portuguese authorities.

Also another odd thing happened. The permanent way staff of the Railway who normally attend to the maintenance of the track were asked by the Portuguese military authorities not to attend to these tracks on this place in between. So, this matter was brought to the notice of the Portuguese authorities and they were asked to remove this interference or give an assurance that there was no danger to traffic passing over this section of the railway in Goa. Intimation was also sent to the British Railway which is supposed to be in charge of this. No reply was received within the time stated. This through-railway service has been stopped, because it passes through that little area which was supposed to be dangerous, but the shuttle services on both sides continue. That is, the Indian Railway system still runs a shuttle on the other side, and of course, on this side. It became incumbent to stop the through-services going over that part of the Goan territory which was supposed to be mined as it was dangerous to passengers and others.

## 6. India's Policy on Goa<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yesterday I made a statement before the House outlining the policy that Government was pursuing in regard to Goa. I must express my deep gratitude to Members who have spoken in this House today for their broad appreciation of this subject and their general acceptance of the policy of Government. There have been some criticisms, but, on the whole, the area of agreement is very large and the area of disagreement limited and narrow.

1. Statement in the Parliament, 26 July 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vol. V, Part II, cols. 8548-8562. Extracts.



Now, there is no one in this House who requires any argument about the justification of India's claim to Goa. That is obvious. There is hardly any question that has come before this House which has had such unanimous approval or agreement. The only questions that have arisen are as to the steps that might be taken to give effect to India's claim. Even there, I will not say that all the Members of the House so far as I can understand, it is by and large the opinion of this House that the methods should be peaceful. So we limit our approach to this problem considerably.

Now, although it does not require that anything should be said in justification of our claim to Goa, nevertheless, I shall venture to mention a few facts, perhaps more, if I may say so for consumption by others who are not so wise as Members of this House are. There is, of course, the geographical argument. Now, the Portuguese Government claims that Goa is a part of Portugal. Sometimes that remark is made which is so illogical and absurd that it is rather difficult to deal with it. You are suddenly transported into a land where logic does not prevail. To say that Goa is a part of Portugal is something in the nature of a nursery tale or nursery rhyme about the cat jumping over the moon. It has no relation to facts and any kind of will, decree or law passed in Portugal is not going to make Goa a part of Portugal.

Then, a reference is made to a number of treaties, treaties more especially with the British Government<sup>2</sup>—between the United Kingdom or England as it was then, and Portugal; and there is the NATO alliance.<sup>3</sup> I think it has been made fairly clear by responsible people that the NATO alliance—whether we approve of it or disapprove of it is another matter—has little relevance to this question. It has been stated that under that alliance, a subject like Goa or indeed any other subject can be brought up for discussion, but that alliance is not by any means compelled to deal with such problems or go beyond its narrower periphery of action. We may, therefore, set aside the NATO alliance.

Then there are these treaties with the various British Governments. I think the first one is dated 1373. It is a fairly long time ago. These treaties began, as far as I can remember, with an attempt by the then King of Portugal to protect themselves against the then King of Castille, that is, Spain. This was soon after the Arabs or the Moores as they were called, were driven out of the Iberian Peninsula; and Portugal was rather afraid of Castille which was growing in strength. These treaties were also aimed against the Hollanders as they were

2. It was the oldest existing treaty signed in 1373 during the reign of Edward III and confirmed in 1386, 1642, 1654, 1661, 1815, 1899, 1904 and 1914. Further, during the Second World War, Portugal leased its bases in Azores to Britain and in return was assured of her sovereignty over her colonies. Under the treaty of 1642, Great Britain was bound to protect Portugal's "conquests and colonies".

3. Article IV of the NATO agreement guaranteed the "territorial integrity" of the signatories.

called or the Dutch who were spreading out. In the course of these treaties all kinds of provisions were made about the right of Portugal to go and raise armies directly in England. This later treaty of 1661 might interest the House:

"That His Majesty of Portugal, or any one who he may depute, shall be permitted to raise and procure in this Commonwealth," that is England, "soldiers and horses, to defend and secure himself against the King of Castille."

"And that the military force, which he shall be at liberty to levy do not amount to more than 12,000 namely, 4,000 out of each of the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland respectively."

Sitting here, I was—most naturally—following carefully all that was said, but sometimes, I picked up a volume of these ancient treaties to look through them to know what after all and where these treaties were. I am afraid this volume is as old as the treaty. It has gone to pieces. It was rather interesting reading—the archaic language of five or six hundred years ago.

Then we come to that famous treaty in which the port town or what is called the town and port of Bombaine was handed over at the time when King Charles II of England married the Portuguese princess.<sup>4</sup> There are all kinds of references to the port of Bombaine and Colombo, and that is the whole background.

I am mentioning these rather irrelevant facts to indicate how that complete picture of the world ceased to exist many hundreds of years ago. After that, there were ancient treaties which were several times confirmed by subsequent treaties or something else was added to them, and there was a confirmation clause. In the treaty of 1661, when the town and port of Bombaine was handed over, there was a secret clause. It is that secret clause to which reference is often made as it was under that secret clause that England promised to help and protect Portugal and her colonies in 1661. It might interest the House to know that in spite of these various treaties—I am not going into many other historical incidents—later in this century, I think in 1914, a little before the First World War, there were actually negotiations between England and Germany for a partition of the Portuguese Empire. The negotiations led to other events including a big war. But I merely mention this to indicate what value is attached to many of these ancient treaties. Of course, every constitutional lawyer and historian knows that any treaty or any agreement has to be interpreted in terms

4. Acquired by the Portuguese General Albuquerque in 1510, the Bombay city, port and adjacent areas were ceded to King Charles II of England as part of the dowry on his marriage to Princess Catherine of Braganza in 1661. The territory was transferred to East India Company in 1668 at an annual rental of £10 and the Regulating Act of 1773 brought the Bombay Presidency under Governor General's control.



of the existing circumstances. If Portugal, for instance, today in terms of that treaty claims the right to raise an army directly in England, Scotland or Ireland, I have little doubt that the United Kingdom would refuse to acknowledge that fact, although there it is. So, it is rather absurd to talk about these ancient treaties in these terms. A treaty has to be seen in terms of the historical developments that have taken place since then. Apart from the historical changes that have taken place in the last four or five hundred years,—and they have been tremendous,—particular changes that have taken place recently,—relatively recently,—are quite enough for us, that is to say, historical developments which have taken place in India resulting in the independence of India. Of course, so far as independent India is concerned, it is in no way bound by any old or modern treaty between other countries to which we have not subscribed, so that in no event are we concerned with the treaty between Portugal, England and other countries. But quite apart from the fact that we are not bound, I am trying to indicate that nobody else is bound by them, because they have only been construed in the light of other developments. These developments have been startling, developments resulting in the independence of India. The independence of India was never conceived as the independence of a part of India, as the independence of India excluding certain areas which may be controlled by some other authority outside India. It is inconceivable that you can conceive of the independence of India with parts of India being held by an outside authority. The House will remember that long ago, over 140 or more years ago, sometime after the United States had established themselves as a strong nation, even then there was the fear of interference by European powers in the American continents and this led to the famous declaration by President Monroe of the United States. This was in 1823:

“The United States would regard as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition to itself the effort of any European power to interfere with the political system of the American continents.”

That is to say any interference by any European country would be an interference with the American political system. I submit that in the existing conditions—I place my case quite clearly—that the Portuguese retention of India is a continuing interference with the political system established in India today. I shall go a step further and say that any interference by any other power would also be an interference with the political system of India today. That need not be called a particular doctrine; it is just a recognition of the present fact. It may be that we are weak and we cannot prevent that interference. That is a sign of weakness, but that does not matter. The fact is that any foreign power trying to interfere in any way with India is a thing which India cannot tolerate and subject to her strength, it will be opposed. That is the

broad doctrine I lay down. That applies in the existing conditions to the Portuguese retention of Goa and therefore, for a variety of reasons into which I need not go,—reasons if you like of national unity, national security and all that,—we cannot possibly accept such interference or such foothold, however small it may be. The size has nothing to do with it, because if it is a foothold it is a foothold and it is an interference and a possible danger in the future, more so for a country which itself is tied up with all kinds of alliances. When it has that foothold, it means that it is a foothold not of that country, but a group of countries with a large number of alliances, and therefore, all kinds of possible dangers and entanglements might arise.

I do submit that the case of India in regard to Goa is as clear as any case that I can think of and it should not require really any tremendous arguments to justify it. But various types of arguments are raised by the Portuguese Government and they are strange. Therefore, I thought I could venture to repeat what I have said. Now again, I am not going into the old history of the Portuguese possession of Goa; but I think many members will remember that this history is a very dark period of India's history. I am talking about a fact of a considerably early period. We have had dark period in various parts of the country; I do not lay stress on it. But I mention it because Goa is repeatedly referred to as a shining light of European culture. Well, what that European culture is, opinions may differ. I do not give my opinion; it may or may not be accepted. But I should like to put it to Europe itself and to the countries of Europe if they think that the culture represented by Goa today, or even if I may with respect say, by Portugal, represents the European culture at its highest and brightest in any field—political, social, economic or cultural.

Then there is this religious argument. Honourable Members belonging to the Roman Catholic Church have spoken today in this House as they have spoken elsewhere. I do not think anything that will happen in Goa is going to affect our broad policy in regard to religious freedom; but the attitude that the Portuguese Government takes is just the attitude which is to make some people view this question from a narrower point of view than we like them to, that is, the very thing it accuses us of trying to do, it does but I do not think that will affect us. That is another matter. Honourable Members know how many Catholics have taken part in this struggle for freedom in Goa and how many from outside Goa. Therefore, let us be clear. From every point of view this question of Goa has to be decided and there can be only one decision and that is, its merger with the Indian Union.

One honourable Member, may be Dr Lanka Sundaram or perhaps Acharya Kripalani, said that the fact of Goa joining the Indian Union is not an arguable point. We do not go and discuss with the Portuguese Government as to whether Goa is to be part of the Indian Union or not. The only thing that we can discuss with them,—I have no doubt the time will come and it will be



discussed—is the manner of doing it, the legal or other steps that have to be taken. That is why our approach has been throughout, both in the case of the French possessions and the Portuguese possessions in India, that the other party should recognise this basic fact, and also give us *de facto* possession of those areas and then the legal steps can follow at leisure. That is what exactly has happened in regard to the French settlements. Even now, strictly the legal and constitutional position is rather doubtful. But, *de facto* they are part of India. I have no doubt,—it may take one or two or three months—this House as well as the French Parliament will have to legalise this. *De facto* possession becomes *de jure* and they become formally and juristically part of India. We do not mind if there is some delay. We are prepared to accommodate the other Government concerned in these matters. But, where the basic right is denied, there is no question of argument. Any argument, any negotiation with Portugal denying that right is not possible.

There is another point that I wish to make clear. When we say that this is a matter of special concern to the Goans, it does not mean that the matter is of lesser concern to Indians. What was said was in connection with certain types of movements and agitation that were going on. The future of Goa, that is, the union of Goa with India is a matter of special, intense, equal concern to every Indian as to every Goan. There is no difference in that matter.

We now turn to the question of what are the methods to be employed. Acharya Kripalani put a straight question as to whether our Government was pledged to nonviolence. The answer to that is 'No, the Government is not.' As far as I can conceive, under the existing circumstances, no Government can be pledged to nonviolence. If we were pledged to nonviolence, surely we would not keep any Army, Navy or Air Force and possibly not even a police force; I do not know. One may have an ideal. One may adhere to a policy leading to a certain direction and yet, because of existing circumstances one cannot give effect to that ideal. We have to wait for it for some time. Acharya Kripalani reminded us of Mahatma Gandhi saying that the Polish defence against the German armies might also be called *satyagraha*. Also Gandhiji defended, in fact not only defended, but encouraged the Indian Army to go to Kashmir, to defend Kashmir against the raiders. It is surprising that a man like Gandhiji, who was absolutely committed to nonviolence, should do that kind of thing, so that, even he, in certain circumstances, admitted the right of the State, as it is constituted, to commit violence in defence. It is true. Obviously, the Government of India cannot give up that right in the existing circumstances. Nevertheless, we have made it perfectly clear and we have based our policy on this that we shall use force only in defence, that we shall not provoke a war or start a war or adopt any aggressive tactics in regard to Goa. It may be that sometimes it is very difficult to draw a line and be clear as to what is happening. Broadly speaking, this is our policy.

From that policy many things flow. Our armaments, our Army, Navy and the Air Force are strictly meant for defence purposes. That is to say, we arm our Army, Navy and the Air Force with a view to defend our country. There used to be an Expeditionary Force in the British times. We have none. We are not going to send any force anywhere else. There are weapons of war to strike at a long distance. We keep none of these. We have no intention of striking at a long distance. Our own conception in keeping the Army, Navy and Air Force is defence, effective defence, strong defence, but defence...

Some honourable members opposite talked about a limited war,<sup>5</sup> Goa being small and India being big. That, I think, ignores the fact that the world is much more a unit today, far more for peace, than it ever was before. I do not say that it is impossible for some country or for India to have a limited war; may be conceivably possible. It may yield results too. May I have to say something about Acharya Kripalani's quoting me as having said that war has never brought any results. I do not think I have ever said that. What I have said is that whatever war may have done in the long past, it cannot bring results now. I have gone further and said that the last two great Wars have certainly brought many results; not the results sought for, but something entirely different from what the people wanted. Victory is not a result. Victory is only a way to achieve a result. They brought victory to a certain set of powers, but also greater problems to the world. However, that is a different proposition. Whatever war may have done in the past, in the present state of affairs in the world I think it is right that any major war cannot bring the results aimed at. What it will bring no man knows today. And if you rule out a major war, as I think the world should, then you have to apply the same argument to a small war not because a small war is qualitatively the same thing—it is not—but, nevertheless, a small war helps also to keep up the atmosphere which creates a big war. It is a step in the wrong direction. Here we are fighting against these vague ghosts and phantoms which create cold war—sometimes real fears, sometimes unreal fears—on a certain level, on a certain political level, on a certain psychological level, moral level and all that. If we ourselves move away from that level and base ourselves on some kind of what somebody calls a police action or a limited war, then we are injuring all the larger causes that we stand for, and possibly getting ourselves entangled into great difficulties. It seems to me it would be exceedingly unwise to take a step which not only is opposed to the basic policies that we have been pursuing but which may for reasons entirely practical and reasons of our national interest may create difficulties for us. When it is as certain as almost anything can be that in the course of time—I do not mean it

5. J.B. Kripalani had stated that the Government of India should clarify its position on the satyagraha and either support it fully or declare "a limited war" for the liberation of Goa.



the long course of time—it is quite inevitable that Goa becomes an integral part of India, are we to lose all the possible major benefits of pursuing a right policy by taking this risk, by doing something wrong according to that policy and at the same time taking a risk which might endanger us to some extent? Because, you cannot isolate these things. You have to see the full picture of the consequences of an action. If we have to consider what we have to do in Goa—or, be it in any other part of the world—we have not only to consider the step we have to take, but the successive steps we may have to take; the second, third, fourth, fifth, right up to the tenth and twentieth. No Government or no responsible person can take a step without thinking of the consequences or just leaving others to face the consequences. There are no others. The people of India are concerned. We have to face the consequences.

Now, then, it being admitted and settled that the policy we should pursue is a peaceful policy, it is open to us in the terms of that peaceful policy to do much. I need not go into details. Some Members referred to economic blockade and this and that. Obviously, it is open to us to pursue those policies, and many others.

Reference has been made to satyagraha, mass satyagraha, individual satyagraha and the like. To begin with, the Government of India or any government, does not talk or deal with satyagraha in that way. An honourable member suggested that the Government of India should lead the satyagraha movement into Goa. That, if I may say so with all respect mixes up the functions of the Government, as of the Government was an agitational body agitating for somebody against somebody else. No government will perform satyagraha, can perform satyagraha. I do not know; I have made the statement. When I make that statement naturally I am thinking of satyagraha in the normal terms it has been performed. There may be some possible extensions of that move which are beyond my mind at the present moment. But, satyagraha as we know, it has been performed within our country against a governmental apparatus. It may be performed against another governmental apparatus. But one government performing it against another government, is, for the moment, not clear to me—how that is done.

Therefore, let us not get mixed up. Many honourable members who have had the privilege of being initiated into the satyagraha movement during this Goan campaign probably have had no previous experience of this, nor have they understood either the technique or the theory of it, always excluding of course some honourable members opposite who have that knowledge. Satyagraha—I will not go into that matter, but it is an interesting subject which I should like to discuss on some other occasion here or elsewhere.

Another honourable member suggested that we should call upon the Portuguese Government to treat them as prisoners of war. It will not be correct that, while we or anybody can claim what I would call civilised treatment for

anybody, and more so for peaceful people, peaceful *satyagrahis*, we should call upon them to treat it as a war. Who is at war with them—the Government of India or some local organisation has declared war against Portugal? You get hopelessly entangled in matters of this kind.

So far as our Government is concerned, we have nothing to do with satyagraha. If something wrong is done in our territory, we stop it. If no wrong is done well, we permit it to the extent that no wrong is done. That is the governmental viewpoint. You may view it, of course, from the public viewpoint apart from governmental. A party can view it; the Congress organisation may view it too as to what, under the circumstances, to do. It has a perfect right to do as other parties and organisations have a right. They may view it, but the Government cannot think, conceive of the question in terms of its patronising satyagraha. The most it can do is to, well, not interfere provided it is within certain limits, provided it is nonviolent and so on and so forth; provided also that it does not lead to a situation of violence on a big scale. That has also to be considered. Therefore, when one talks about mass satyagraha, it is not because mass satyagraha itself is wrong, but because the manner of doing it is likely to lead or may lead to unknown results and rather large scale violence. It may cease to be satyagraha, or it may be compelled to turn in some other direction. If there were, I suppose, an adequate number of trained *satyagrahis* well, they might even indulge in mass satyagraha in a properly disciplined way. The House would remember that the arch-priest of satyagraha, Mahatmaji—suddenly put a full stop to the whole movement and said “only one man will go now.” We are novices. We do not pretend to understand all these important points. But, one thing is clear—that, if we want a settlement of this question by peaceful methods, we should not do anything or we should try to avoid doing things which, though peaceful in themselves, lead to violent methods, because then you have to be prepared for that violence and you have to be prepared for the second and third step of violence. Whatever we do we must do with our eyes open and not in a confused way, doing something in a rather excited way and then hoping that something will come out of it, something good will come out of it. That surely, is not a proper way for a Government to function or indeed for any organisation to function. Therefore, I submit that while Government will no doubt act on the policy enunciated—and in that enunciation of policy there are large areas of possible development—it should not be thought that whatever can be done has been done by Government. There are possibilities of much more to be done in a proper way; it takes a little time sometimes. And I think what Government has done or is likely to do can by no means be considered ineffective. It is effective and it may be progressively more effective. That is the Government side of it. So far as the other side is concerned, Government cannot lay down anything except a negative side, because the public organisations have to consider that—whatever that may be may be, my own



organisation may consider it, and other people's also but Government will only consider that that organisation functions within the limits that have been indicated.

One thing I should like to mention. There has been a so-called constitutional statute introduced or sought to be introduced by the Portuguese Government in Goa, Daman and Diu, evidently trying to create some impression on the people there.<sup>6</sup> This constitutional statute is a very very feeble attempt at local reform, giving absolutely no authority or power. Briefly speaking, the position even after this will be that out of twenty-three seats in a new Council which is elected under a very limited franchise, eleven will be elected, i.e., less than half; and the whole thing is very restrictive.<sup>7</sup> And even this Council does not get much power. In fact, all power remains in the hands of a handful of officials. Oddly enough, the position in Goa, not only today but even after this constitutional statute, will be that they will have less freedom—if I may use the word in a limited sense—than Goa had under the monarchy in Portugal. It is extraordinary. They go on backward there. Instead of there being some advance in local reforms, they have actually become more and more restricted.

I would again say that in considering these matters now—these or other matters—we cannot consider them from a purely narrow, local or even national point of view. Whether we will consider it or not, we have become parts of an international community which is spread out all over the world. If we remember that, and if we remember that every action of ours has reactions elsewhere just as other actions have reactions here then perhaps we shall be able to judge these matters in the proper perspective....<sup>8</sup>

6. A new constitutional statute providing for inclusion of elected members in the Legislative Council of the Settlements and increasing the power of the Council, was declared by the Portuguese Government on 5 July. It came into effect from 1 August 1955. The first election was held on 22 August and all but one candidate out of the twenty-three were returned unopposed. Franchise was based on literacy, property-holding and other qualifications. Out of a population of 638,000, only 50,000 had entered their names in the electoral register.
7. Out of a total membership of twenty-three of the Council, five were to be appointed by the Government, eleven to be elected by direct votes and seven to be elected by the various economic, religious and other bodies. The Council was to be elected for a period of four years and meet twice under the Presidentship of the Governor General. The members had the right to "give opinion" on the budget, and were guaranteed freedom of speech as long as they did not express opinions "against unity and independence of the country."
8. H.V. Kamath had asked whether the Government of India was at the least prepared to give medical, legal and transport facilities to *satyagrahis* on the Goa border.

Perhaps I may give a parallel but I would not give the parallel now. So far as this is concerned, it is the ordinary function of various authorities to give medical aid where necessary.

Medical aid or sometimes even legal aid. That is not the function of Government as such. Even local bodies there presumably give it. It is the function of any representative of Government who happens to be there to give medical aid or other aid; that is obvious. But when he talks about transport aid, it is rather extraordinary.

## 7. To H.S. Malik<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

11 August 1955

My dear Malik,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 5th August.

I can well understand the preoccupation of the French Government with their internal and external problems.<sup>3</sup> It is because of this that we have not tried to hustle them about the Pondicherry Treaty,<sup>4</sup> but it does no good to them or to us to go on delaying this. Soon I suppose the new Council elected in Pondicherry will pass a resolution demanding an early *de jure* transfer. I think we should point out politely that this delay is not helpful...

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. H.S. Malik was Indian Ambassador in France.

3. The French Government, headed by E. Faure and dependent on support of six parties was preoccupied with the problems of nationalist uprising in Algeria and nationalist and terrorist activities in French Morocco. See also *ante*, pp. 344-345.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 224-225.



## 8. No Police Action in Goa<sup>1</sup>

The attached telegram indicates that our Representative in Goa is thinking in terms of a possible "police action" by us.<sup>2</sup> He is wrong in this as we do not intend to have any such action even though what he says may be right. I think you should send him a brief telegram to say quite clearly that we do not propose to have anything in the nature of a police action which would be quite contrary to the statements we have publicly made. We shall watch developments on the 15th<sup>3</sup> and after and then consider what further steps should be taken.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 12 August 1955. JN Collection.
2. P.R.S. Mani had telegraphed on 12 August informing that the morale of Portuguese Army was low, though the Governor General, Paulo Benard Guedes was inspecting border areas and reinforcing defence. He suggested that in case the Government of India was thinking of a "limited police action", they could do "simultaneous landings along the coast which will bring about large scale surrender of Portuguese troops."
3. The All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee had resolved to offer mass satyagraha on 15 August. In response, the Governor General of Goa had issued instructions to the police to physically prevent *satyagrahis* from entering Goa and use force only as a last resort. On the other hand, 500,000 Bombay workers went on one day token strike on 12 August to show their solidarity with the cause and raise mass awareness about Goa. On 12 August, Portuguese Foreign Minister, Paulo Cunha, had called upon the "civilised world to prevent the provocation being planned on Indian soil."

## 9. Policy on Goa Movement<sup>1</sup>

Ever since yesterday afternoon and this morning, I have been in constant touch with Bombay, because Bombay is the best place to obtain this news, and the most authentic information that we have received from the Bombay Government thus far is that there have been fifteen deaths and twenty-eight injured.<sup>2</sup> I do

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 16 August 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*. 1955, Vol. VI, Pt. II, cols. 10143-10149.
2. On 15 August 1955, several thousand *satyagrahis* entered Goa at various places in small batches. Conspicuous among them was the presence of a large number of women and sadhus. The Portuguese police opened fire and according to Vice President Radhakrishnan's statement in the Rajya Sabha of 18 August, fifteen were killed, 225 injured, of whom 38 were serious.

not pretend to say that this is the final figure. May be, some more information may be coming but this itself shows how difficult it is to get exact information, because these incidents happened in Portuguese territory and there was nobody to watch them except those who went. Sometimes some of these incidents could be watched from the border or by some foreign correspondent here and there.<sup>3</sup> No Indian correspondent had been allowed entry by the Portuguese authorities. Thus far, therefore, the information at our disposal is that there are fifteen dead. Two of these died in hospital in Indian territory. They were brought back. The others died on the spot more or less, and there are twenty-eight injured. Now there is a possibility of more deaths having occurred in a tunnel in the Castlerock region because they went through a railway tunnel and as they came across a bend, they were met by a fusillade there and a number fell, some dead, some wounded. How many were wounded, how many dead, it is very difficult for people to know. Then again, a difficulty has arisen because many people were pushed back or came back after the firing. Some were arrested or kept back by the Portuguese authorities, and sometimes when they were kept back and did not return it was presumed that they might have been shot at and were dead. Therefore, it is very difficult to give exact figures to the House. All I can say for the present is that we have official information about fifteen dead and twenty-eight injured.

As the House knows, this entry of *satyagrahis* took place in a number of places, both round the Goa territory and Daman in the north. As far as is known, in Diu there was no firing. About eighty-one persons went in and they apparently are still there. It is not quite clear what has happened to them. Anyhow, they have not come out. This is our latest information. In fact, according to our information, 800 people are still in Goan territory. Till this morning this is our information, that they had not come out or had not been pushed back. Of course the number that went was a much larger number, more than 2,000.

Honourable members may have seen among the reports that have come in the press, mention of a lady, Subhadrabai from Sagar, Madhya Pradesh.

Some honourable members: West Bengal.

Ram Subhag Singh: Sagar is her name.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Name? May be. There might be some mistake about that perhaps. Anyhow, Subhadrabai, from all accounts received, acted with quite extraordinary courage and something which fills us with pride. Anyone, even though he might not be an Indian, he should be filled with pride at the courage shown by that woman. More so for us who are Indians to think that this woman went; and as far as the accounts go, when the first firing took place, they had

3. It was confirmed by the Indian press as well as foreign press correspondents that the Portuguese police had opened fire without warning at most of the places.



been directed by those organising them to lie down. They did lie down. Then, as they got up, she got up and took hold of the National Flag and was shot at while she was shouting *Bharat Mata Ki Jai*. This one instance I bring to the notice of the House. There may be many other instances of courage which no doubt we will get to know sooner or later.

Now, it is not for me to say much at this stage about the individual acts committed there or to give a detailed account, because I do not possess it. Naturally, every one in this House and in this country will deeply sympathise with those who have suffered and pay a tribute of admiration to those who have given their lives in this way.

On the other hand, from all accounts received, the behaviour of the Portuguese authorities was—and I am trying to use restrained language—brutal and uncivilised in the extreme. I am not aware of even any hint being made that these *satyagrahis* who went had any kind of a weapon or arm or anything. They went totally unarmed. Now, according to the view of the Portuguese authorities they may have been committing an offence against them. And according to that, they might be entitled to take such action as they think fit and proper. After all, *satyagraha* is the deliberate committing of an offence peacefully. But the question that arises—and it is not only of importance in this particular instance in Goa, but in a much larger way in international affairs—is this, namely how far any government is justified in shooting and killing people who are unarmed, and who are behaving peacefully and not attacking it. Now, if these facts are correct—and from all the accounts that we have thus far received, there is no question of these *satyagrahis* having any arms, or in any way attacking; in fact, in several instances, they were seated or they sat down on the ground, and some reports say that they were shot dead by certain Portuguese policemen and others who were seated on chairs at the time—then all this is very extraordinary in international behaviour. And I do submit that the least we can say on this kind of thing—and I am speaking now not to the members of this House who require no argument, or even to our people in this country, but to others outside this country—is that this kind of behaviour is brutal and uncivilised in the extreme.

Now, as you were pleased to say a little while ago, this is not the end of the story. Other things have happened from day to day and are likely to happen. The story will not end till the objective is achieved. Therefore, for me at this stage to say much more about it is not easy. But one thing I do wish to say, and more specially, if I may refer with your permission to that motion which you were pleased to rule out now, is the motion for adjournment which criticised and condemned the policy of the Government in regard to Goa, I should personally like not that motion, but the subject of Goa, whenever this House chooses, to be discussed, and the policy of the Government to be discussed, because the Government propose to adhere to that policy which they have

followed to the fullest extent. And it is for this House to express itself clearly in this matter. Let there be no doubts about it. The Government propose to follow that policy. That is the basic policy. Naturally, in adaptation of that policy there are variations, of course. But the basic policy is the policy of a peaceful approach to this problem, and not having resort to armed force in resolving it. That is the basic policy. All else are variations of this policy. Now we propose to adhere to that basic policy. And naturally, in a matter of this kind, even more so than in other matters, we should like the fullest support of this House, and of Parliament and of the country. Goa may be a small piece of territory, but it raises international issues at the moment, and in international matters, naturally, Government would earnestly hope for the largest measure of support from Parliament and from the country.

Therefore, I want this question to be clearly appreciated as to what the policy of Government is, and what we ask or request this House in regard to that matter. That policy is not only based on what might be said our general approach to such problems, our basic approach, it is not only based on the line we have adopted in international affairs, but if I may say so, it is a practical approach, apart from its being idealistic or not. It is a practical approach to a difficult problem. It is a difficult problem. And the Government do not propose to be hustled by any activity of the Portuguese authorities, or to be forced into what they consider a wrong action, because the Portuguese authorities might perhaps want them to commit that wrong action. I have little doubt that what has been done in Goa yesterday and somewhat earlier too, is perhaps deliberately meant to provoke the Government of India into some action which might perhaps cover a veil on the misdeeds or the wrong action of the Portuguese authorities in Goa. We have no intention of being diverted from what we consider the right policy basically, by such provocation.

But the fact remains that this is a matter of great importance and significance for us, and it is natural and right for the people of India, and for all of us, to feel deeply what is taking place on the borders of Goa, or inside Goan territory, or in Daman or in Diu. I shall, as I said, keep the House informed of what steps we may take from time to time, as well as about the facts of the situation.

I have no doubt that I express the feelings of all in this House when I say that our sympathies go out to the people—well, they are dead—to those who died, and to those who have suffered in this. In fact, the country's sympathy must necessarily be with them.

At the same time, we must look at this matter in proper perspective calmly and objectively, and Parliament and the Government should, I submit, move with dignity as well as firmness in this matter, and not perhaps because of strong feelings, act in a manner in which would not be in consonance with this dignity of Parliament....

Lest there be a misunderstanding about what I said before we adjourned,



about one matter, I should like to clear it up. I referred to the lady, Subhadrabai, who was shot. I should like to make it clear that she is alive; she is not dead. She is, of course, seriously wounded and is in hospital.

## 10. Postal and Telegraph Services to Goa<sup>1</sup>

We decided this morning not to take any immediate steps in regard to suspension of Postal and Telegraph Services to Goa. There is no hurry about it. In fact there is going to be very little to do in this matter probably in future. We can consider this later.

The only question is what to do with the mails that are accumulated. In so far as foreign mails are concerned, it is stated that we have no choice and that we have to send them to Karachi or any other place indicated. In regard to Indian mails we have this choice. I do not think we need make this distinction in regard to them. The best thing is to get rid of the whole lot by sending it to Karachi. This is so far as the present accumulations are concerned. As for the future, we shall wait and see.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 18 August 1955. JN Collection.

## 11. Cable to Portuguese Governor General<sup>1</sup>

The Consul General of India presents his compliments to His Excellency the Governor General<sup>2</sup> of Goa and has the honour to convey the following note under instructions of his Government, for transmission to the Government of Portugal.

The Government of India in their note of the 25th July 1955 conveyed to

1. New Delhi, 18 August 1955. JN Collection. This cable was sent through P.N. Haksar, Indian Consul General in Goa.
2. Paulo Benard Guedes (1892-1960); Governor General of Portuguese possessions in India at this time.

the Portuguese Government their earnest and considered view that the Portuguese Government should desist from their policy of violence including firing on unarmed and non-violent *satyagrahis*. The Government of India regret that the Portuguese Government have continued and intensified this policy of repression by terror of arms.

On the 15th August, nonviolent and unarmed men and women were fired at in very close proximity to the Indian frontier. This resulted, according to the information at present in the possession of the Government of India, in the death of at least fifteen and injuries to at least two hundred and twenty-five persons. Ten others are still reported missing and majority of these latter are presumed dead. The Government of India wish to point out to the Government of Portugal in the strongest terms that the conduct of the Portuguese authorities in this respect is totally contrary to the practice of civilised governments and was a wanton and brutal exercise of force against unarmed people. The Portuguese Government in their press communique allege that they had to "defend themselves from violence by violence" and further state that India has massed troops on the Goan border.<sup>3</sup> The Government of India wish to state categorically that these statements are completely untrue and none of the allegations have any foundation in fact. The Portuguese Government must be fully aware that there are no armed forces of the Indian Union anywhere along the borders of the Portuguese enclaves in India. They must be aware that on 15th August the Portuguese armed forces and the police opened fire at point blank range with the deliberate intent to kill unarmed and nonviolent *satyagrahis*. They did not even hesitate to shoot at a woman *satyagrahi*.

The Government of India have decided to withdraw their Consulate General from the Portuguese possessions in India. In pursuance of this decision, the Consulate General of India will cease to function as from the first day of September 1955. The Government of India at the same time request that the Consulate General of Portugal in Bombay and the Honorary Consulates in Calcutta and Madras be closed on or before the first of September 1955.

The Government of India trust that the Portuguese Government will extend the necessary facilities and reasonable time to their Consul General and his staff to wind up their affairs and for their departure from Goa. Reciprocal facilities will be granted to the Portuguese Consul General and his staff in Bombay and the Consulates in Calcutta and Madras.

The Consul General of India avails himself of this opportunity to renew to His Excellency the Governor General the assurance of his highest consideration.

3. The Portuguese press communique was released on 16 August accusing India of provocative acts and stating that the action of the Portuguese police was in self defence.



## 12. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

19 August 1955

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have sent to Radha Raman.<sup>2</sup> I feel that we should warn Congressmen now. But it is for you to decide what exact steps we should take. I do not want to make a fuss about it. Money has been collected by Sucheta Kripalani and Radha Raman, I understand, for Goa from Members of Parliament and others. It is not quite clear what this money is for. Is it to help those who have suffered? If so, well and good. I have no objection. Is it to carry on satyagraha? If so, who is to be in charge of this satyagraha and in what manner will it be carried on? All kinds of questions arise.

I spoke to Morarji Bhai today on the telephone. He told me that nearly all the *satyagrahis* at Savantvadi had come away to Belgaum or Poona. Seventy of them went into Goa to perform satyagraha today.<sup>3</sup> Practically no one else was left in Savantvadi. Morarji Bhai had supplied trucks for those who wanted to come away and advantage had been taken of this. Because of this, he thought that it was not worthwhile for Bhargava to go to Savantvadi or indeed beyond Poona. And so, Bhargava is likely to return tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. AICC Papers. Secret Correspondence between UN Dhebar and Jawaharlal Nehru. NMML.
2. In his letter to Radha Raman, Congress MP from Delhi, of 19 August, Nehru had criticised the functioning of the Delhi Goa Committee, floated by Sucheta Kripalani and Radha Raman. Nehru felt that in view of the violence that took place all over India on 16 August, it was imperative for Congressmen to dissociate themselves from such committees and not fall prey to the designs of PSP and Jana Sangh, who have virtually given an anti-Congress hue to the whole issue.
3. On 16 August the All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee President, K.M. Jedhe had announced suspension of satyagraha till the bodies of all those killed were returned by the Portuguese police. From 16 to 31 August, other parties sent four batches of volunteers into Goa.

### 13. Informal Talks with Pakistan and Sri Lanka on Goa<sup>1</sup>

Shri Krishna Menon suggested to me today that it might be desirable to have a talk with the High Commissioners of Pakistan<sup>2</sup> and Ceylon<sup>3</sup> about Goa. This talk should be informal. You might point out to them that the question of Goa is obviously a colonial question and obviously a question which comes within the purview of the Bandung Conference decisions. As they know, it has created very great feeling in India. We do not expect Pakistan or Ceylon to do anything about this matter. That is for them to decide. But we do feel that it would be unfortunate and almost an unfriendly act for anything to be done in support of the Portuguese in this matter. That will have a bad effect on the whole colonial situation.

It might be mentioned to the Ceylon High Commissioner that I had a telegram from Shri Bandaranaike from Warsaw offering to send volunteers for Goa.<sup>4</sup> I replied to him that the Government was not directly concerned with the satyagraha and in any event there was no lack of volunteers here, but of course we would welcome expression of sympathy and goodwill in this matter from the people of Ceylon.

I think it would be advisable for informal talks to take place on this subject on the general lines indicated above with the High Commissioners of Pakistan and Ceylon.

1. Note to the Secretary General and Commonwealth Secretary, 19 August 1955. JN Collection.
2. Subimal Dutt, the Commonwealth Secretary, spoke to the Pakistan High Commissioner, Ghazanfar Ali Khan in Delhi on 22 August 1955 and conveyed to him the Indian Government's concern regarding "anti-Indian propaganda in the Pakistan press regarding Goa." Dutt also referred to reports in the press that Pakistan troops were being sent to Goa. The High Commissioner promised to communicate this to his Government and referred to an article by H.S. Suhrawardy of 20 August, where he had advised Nehru against sending *satyagrahis* to Goa and had asked, "what would happen if *satyagrahis* were to be sent to Kashmir from Pakistan."
3. Dutt met the Sri Lanka High Commissioner, Wijeyeratne on 22 August and conveyed to him India's concern regarding support of the Sri Lanka Government for Portugal. The High Commissioner seemed convinced and said that he was going to inform his Government of the feelings in India about Goa, suggesting that "no encouragement should be given to the Portuguese Government in Ceylon."
4. S.D. Bandaranaike, Member of Sri Lanka Parliament, had cabled from Warsaw on 18 August that: "Greetings to people of India in anti-imperialist freedom struggle in Goa. Ceylon youth anxious to send volunteers to struggle shoulder to shoulder with people of India against imperialists in Goa."



## 14. Solution by Peaceful Methods<sup>1</sup>

The problem of Goa has been with us now for many years, and recently certain occurrences have filled our people with anger and resentment. This anger and resentment is understandable, but they are apt to confuse our minds and out of confusion no correct decision can be made. We must, therefore, consider this problem in all seriousness and calmly, keeping in view all its aspects.

Our first thought must be to pay our homage to those who have given their lives or have suffered in the cause of freedom in Goa. This includes both Goans and Indians. It must be remembered that the inhabitants of Goa have been suffering for many years past in their attempts to free themselves from the oppression of Portuguese colonial rule.

It was natural for our people to be greatly moved by the recent examples of great courage which did not weaken even before imminent death. It is natural for us to mourn the death of these brave *satyagrahis*, and yet I would say that this is an occasion also for joy and pride because many of our countrymen and countrywomen set this great example. Let us lay stress on these aspects, rather than on sorrow alone. Death comes to all of us some time or other, but it makes all the difference how we face death. The courage that conquers death endures and sets an example which makes us better than we were.

There has been much confused thinking even in India over this issue, and in some foreign countries the confusion or, perhaps, the deliberate misunderstanding is even greater. I have been surprised to read some of these foreign comments because they indicate the continuance of the old colonial mind which has done so much harm to Asia and Africa.

Let us try to get rid of this confusion and see facts clearly. What do we aim at in Goa? Goa is geographically a part of India. Opposed as we are to colonialism everywhere, it is impossible for us to tolerate the continuance of colonial rule in a small part of India. It is not that we covet Goa. That little bit of territory makes no great difference to this great country, but even a small enclave under foreign colonial rule does make a difference, and it is a constant irritant both to the self respect and the national interest of India. It may be a source of danger, more especially if a hostile and reactionary country like Portugal holds on to it.

Who are the people of Goa? They are the same as our people. Less than two per cent of them, according to the Portuguese census, have Portuguese as

1. Speech at the UPCC meeting, Sitapur, 21 August 1955. From the *National Herald*, 22 August 1955. Extracts.

their mother tongue. The rest are Indians by descent, by race, by language and in other ways. About two thirds of them are Hindus. About one-third are Roman Catholic Christians. There are many millions of Roman Catholics in the rest of India, who are as much Indians as any other. The economic life of Goa is inextricably connected with India's. Thus, it is natural for us to have a sense of unity with the people of Goa and to feel for their oppression under foreign colonial rule.

But we have no desire to impose ourselves on the people of Goa against their wishes. It is for them ultimately to choose. We are convinced that eighty to ninety per cent of them desire freedom from Portuguese rule and union with India. But the main thing is freedom from Portuguese rule and the removal of this last trace of colonialism from the living body of India. We have assured the Goans that it is for them to determine their future and we have given further assurances about their religion, languages, customs, etcetera.

The misfortune is that the people of Goa are not even allowed to express their opinions. The Portuguese have built up a police state there and even the slightest expression of opinion against them has been punished by long terms of imprisonment. Not even a religious gathering can be held without police permission. If there had been freedom of expression and a measure of civil liberty among the Goans, there would be no difficulty.

Thus, it must be remembered that the question is not of India imposing herself on Goa but of the freedom of the Goan people and the removal of Portuguese colonial rule.

Ever since independence, we have tried our utmost, according to our declared policy, to come to a peaceful settlement with the Portuguese Government. They have spurned us and refused even to discuss this question. We established a legation in Lisbon for this purpose but had to withdraw it because it served no purpose. In spite of the insults offered to us by the Portuguese Government and the callousness and cruelty of their rule in Goa, we adhered to our peaceful approach.

The first question to be clear about is whether we should continue to function peacefully in this matter or should take recourse to military measures or what is called a police action. We are convinced that the peaceful approach is the right one, not only from the point of view of Goa and India, but also because of larger issues in the world and the foreign policy that we have pursued with so much success. It was this peaceful approach that yielded results in Pondicherry, and today we are friends with the Republic of France. It is easy enough for us to take possession of Goa by using military force, but that would not only be a betrayal of all that we have stood for, but would also bring many undesirable consequences in its train. It would also not be fair to the people of Goa. We have set our face against the solution of problems by warlike methods, and we intend to adhere to that decision.



If that is so, then let us not talk loosely about police action and the like. This is not in consonance with the policy, the principle, or the dignity of India. If some people think that we cannot solve these problems by peaceful methods then they have to admit also the necessity of war on some occasions. And, if that is so, who is to decide the occasion? Every country will decide for itself, and the floodgates would be opened. Let no man think that a little war is justifiable though a big war will not be so. If once the principle is given up, then we are anchorless and cannot work for peace in the world, which is so essential for the future of humanity.

I have no doubt in my mind that we shall solve the question of Goa and free the people there from colonial oppression by peaceful methods. These methods appear to take more time, but I am sure that they are the most practical in the end and they represent a higher standard of international relations.

I am not a pacifist, nor is our Government pacifist. If India is attacked or any aggression takes place on India, we shall defend her with all our might and we shall use our defence forces also for that purpose. But, apart from this, we shall not resort to war.

It is open to us to take economic measures and we have taken many and we may have more of them. It is open to us also to take either steps which have to be carefully considered. All these are peaceful weapons of power, even though they do not produce sudden results.

What about satyagraha? Government obviously cannot have satyagraha against another Government. But it is the right of the individual or the group to perform satyagraha, provided it does not bring results which lead to military conflict. It is undoubtedly the right of the Goans, whether living in Goa or outside Goa, to perform satyagraha for the liberation of Goa. Non-Goans also are not precluded in principle from this satyagraha. But if this satyagraha is considered to be a prelude to military action, then it is not satyagraha, whatever else it might be. Also, we have discouraged mass satyagraha by Indians because that might not only produce undesirable situations and new complications, but also give a wrong impression of our approach to this problem.

While we must admire the courage of many of those Goans and Indians who have performed satyagraha in this connection, we have to remember that many apparently have no conception of what satyagraha means. They speak of satyagraha and police action at the same time, as if they were connected. The two differ completely both in the mental and the physical approach. To mix them up is to produce confusion and ineffectiveness. I can understand the peoples of other countries, unused to this peaceful method of direct action, not being able to understand what satyagraha is, but there should be no excuse for the people of India who have been trained for the last thirty-five years to allow themselves to mix up these contraries. If we considered it right or desirable to

have military or police action, we would do so without the prelude of the so called satyagraha.

After the tragic occurrences of August 15 in Goa, there was naturally an upheaval of public sentiment in India. All the world could see the depth and intensity of Indian feeling in this matter, and yet those great demonstrations often took the wrong line and, instead of an exhibition of disciplined strength and feeling, we saw unruly crowds sometimes misbehaving and coercing others.<sup>2</sup> That was as far from satyagraha as possible and, most unfortunately, this lessened the great effect produced by the courage of those who have given their lives in peaceful protest against Portuguese rule.

We must beware, therefore, of this wrong direction that some people wish to give to this movement. That would have been bad at any time, it is much worse in dealing with international issues. Satyagraha is peaceful and non-violent, disciplined and fearless. Indiscipline and offensive behaviour have nothing to do with satyagraha. The misfortune is that some people who only believe in violence, wish to exploit satyagraha for wrong ends. It is the duty of the Congress to adhere to its principles and not be swept away by the excitement or passion of the moment. We have to give the right lead even though it might be unpopular. We must hold to our moorings. It is this that has made the Congress great in the past, and it is this which will make it greater in the future.

I cannot indicate here how the situation will develop in Goa or what successive steps we may take, but I wish to make it clear that, as far as our Government is concerned, it will adhere to the basic policy that we have laid down, and we shall aim at the liberation of Goa from Portuguese misrule. I have no doubt that we shall achieve our objective.

In the long history of India, there have been many invasions and ups and downs, but always sovereignty rested within India. It was for the first time that with the establishment of British, French and Portuguese territories in India, the direction of affairs in India was conducted from abroad. It was this colonialism that for the first time made India a country dependent on another country. The British became dominant, and the French and Portuguese territories in India were reduced to small pockets. These pockets continued because of the protection of the British power. They continued to be called "French India" and 'Portuguese India'.

The primary object of nationalist movement is to remove external authority, that is, a distant colonial power governing a dependent territory. This was

2. On 16 August, protest demonstrations were taken out in Mumbai. Crowd attacked the Portuguese Consulate and office of the Deputy High Commissioner of UK in Mumbai, eighty people were injured in clash with the police and eighty-three were arrested.



achieved, so far as British India was concerned, peacefully. It was subsequently and inevitably achieved, so far as French India was concerned, also peacefully and by negotiations. The only remaining part of India that is under external authority is the Portuguese pockets. It is patent that sovereignty and authority there are exercised by distant Portugal. This is against the whole conception of nationalism and the spirit of the times.

There have been some recent deplorable incidents connected with the National Flag. One flagrant example in Bihar has been where some miscreants, among whom were students, actually pulled it down and burnt it.<sup>3</sup> No greater insult can be offered to a country by anybody, foreign or indigenous, than such outrageous behaviour. If a foreign country did this, it would raise an international issue of some magnitude.

Instances have also occurred of students and others forcing people to fly the National Flag at half mast and trying to compel foreign agencies to fly their flags at half mast.<sup>4</sup> This obviously shows that there is complete ignorance as to when a national flag of any country should be flown at half-mast. The flying of national flags is governed by international conventions. There is nothing private about it, and private grief is not shown by flying flags at half-mast. When, according to international conventions a flag has to be flown at half-mast, directions are issued from the Central Government to that effect. At no other time should it be flown at half-mast. Even the normal flying of a national flag is governed by international conventions, and only a limited number of persons or institutions can fly it, except on national holidays and the like, when it may be displayed largely....

3. See *ante*. pp. 57, 173.

4. On 16 August, Calcutta observed a "day of mourning". The Portuguese Consulate was raided by students, who forcibly hoisted the Indian Flag on it.

## 15. Statements by Sri Lanka Prime Minister on Goa<sup>1</sup>

I do not think we need worry ourselves about the statements made from time

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 22 August 1955. File No. 18(94)/55-GP. MEA.

to time by the Prime Minister of Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> He is completely irresponsible and I have little doubt that in his dislike of India he might well favour Portugal. The only thing to restrain him will be his own public opinion.

Obviously we cannot tell the Ceylon Government what to do and what not to do in regard to the Portuguese.<sup>3</sup> What you have said to the Ceylon High Commissioner is quite enough.<sup>4</sup>

2. B.N. Chakravarty, the Indian High Commissioner at Colombo, had written to Subimal Dutt on 19 August about his conversations with John Kotelawala at an official party. Kotelawala had said, "India seems to have developed a new technique of invasion by *satyagrahis*. What could the Portuguese do but to shoot them? ...If the million Indians in Ceylon were to start a satyagraha movement, Ceylon would perhaps have to follow a similar course." Kotelawala had asked how could Nehru expect to solve world problems when he was not able to settle his dispute with his neighbours such as Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Goa?
3. The Sri Lankan High Commissioner had asked Dutt, on 22 August, about Indian attitude, if Sri Lanka allowed Portugal to establish an office in Colombo, since earlier, the Portuguese Minister to India was simultaneously accredited to Sri Lanka and had hitherto no separate office in Colombo.
4. Dutt replied that being an independent country having diplomatic relations with Portugal, Sri Lanka could do that, but added, "we hope that Ceylon Government would not allow the Portuguese Mission in Colombo to make Ceylon a base for anti-Indian propaganda."

## 16. To Padmaja Naidu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
23 August 1955

Bebbee dear,

Your letter of the 19th August only reached me today.

I would not advise you to go to Goa, at least for the present. The Congress President is telling such Congressmen as have expressed a wish to go to Goa, not to do so. We shall consider this matter fully at a Working Committee meeting early next month.

The organisation of the satyagraha movement in connection with Goa is in completely wrong hands. In fact, it is hardly a satyagraha against Portuguese rule; it is almost openly now a satyagraha against the Congress and the Government. Some Congressmen who went with the *satyagrahis* on August 15th came back rather disillusioned because of this. Persons who are playing a

1. Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML. Also, available in JN Collection.



leading part in this organisation are Jana Sangh people, Communists, and Praja Socialists. They are quarrelling among themselves also.

We have to think about this whole question of Goa very carefully and lay down a policy both on the part of the Government and the Congress and, indeed, the public, insofar as the public accepts our policy. It will, therefore, not be wise for you or, indeed, for anyone to act precipitately now.

All this business of Goa is largely connected with the next elections.

Love,

Yours,  
Jawahar

## 17. To G.V. Mavalankar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
24 August 1955

My dear Mr Speaker,

The External Affairs Ministry received copies of some short notice questions which you have been pleased to disallow. One of these, No. 75, relates to certain allegations about a large number of police of Pakistan helping the Portuguese in Goa.

When some such story reached us, we made enquiries from our Consul General in Goa. His report is that there is no substance in this story. There are apparently some odd Pakistanis there who may have sought service. But it is exceedingly unlikely that any considerable number could have come from Pakistan secretly. We are still pursuing these enquiries.

There is no additional fact of importance which I need bring to the notice of the Lok Sabha. Whenever any additional information comes to me, I shall place it before the Lok Sabha.

In view of our having broken all relations with the Portuguese Government, the question of protesting to them does not arise now. Of course, it is possible, in a major matter, to raise it through some other embassy.

In regard to the question of Portuguese authorities getting help from neighbouring countries, it is not easy for us to take any steps. We have, however, informally drawn the attention of the neighbouring countries to this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

**18. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
25 August 1955

My dear Dhebarbhai,

There is so much confusion in the minds of Congressmen about the Goa satyagraha that I feel some indication should be given by you to them. you have, I believe, privately advised Congressmen not to join this satyagraha at present, but most people do not know this. Would it not be advisable for you to say publicly that this whole question of the Goa satyagraha will be considered by the Congress Working Committee at its next meeting. Till then, you advise Congressmen not to undertake any satyagraha. They should wait for the decision of the Working Committee.

Something like this or a little more if you like, might be worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2 AICC Papers. Secret Correspondence between UN Dhebar and J. Nehru. Also available in JN Collection.

**19. Role of Pakistanis in Goa<sup>1</sup>**

I do not agree with the action suggested, that is, asking our DPIO<sup>2</sup> to contradict anything. The DPIO, however, may issue a brief statement to the effect that the Pakistan Government have denied various reports appearing in some newspapers to the effect that Pakistani nationals were involved in incidents against Indian *satyagrahis* in Goa and that Pakistanis were among the Portuguese Police and Army in Goa.

2. A reply should be sent to the High Commission for Pakistan as follows:

After acknowledging their communication, we should express our satisfaction at the denial by the Pakistan Government of the various statements made to the effect that Pakistani nationals were in the Portuguese Police and the Portuguese Army in Goa or were involved in the incidents against Indian *satyagrahis* in Goa. This denial is being given publicity.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 26 August 1955. JN Collection.
2. V.R. Bhatt.



It might further be stated that several *satyagrahis* who came back from Goa, have given detailed statements about their meeting Pakistani nationals in Goa. Some of these Pakistani nationals, according to these statements, were functioning in the Portuguese Police force. When the Government of India's attention was drawn to these statements, the news agency was especially asked not to give publicity to them and, in fact, no publicity was given for several days. Later, some newspaper correspondents met some of the *satyagrahis* and got some statements from them more or less to the same effect and, apparently, these were published. The Government of India, as the High Commission for Pakistan will observe, endeavoured to stop publication of this story and to a large extent succeeded. They cannot take any action, under their laws, against newspapers publishing statements of certain individuals.

3. Something to the above effect might be sent to the High Commission for Pakistan.

## 20. Economic and Cultural Issues in Pondicherry<sup>1</sup>

I am very much concerned about recent developments in Pondicherry and the other old French settlements in India.<sup>2</sup> Pondicherry, etc., are a very special responsibility for us for a variety of reasons. We have given a great many assurances to the people there and we have to keep them. They are an example of how we treat new territories which come into the Indian Union. They are in fact a kind of window to the outside world. As a matter of fact, at present only de facto transfer has taken place and the de jure change is yet to take place. If conditions remain as they are there now or even deteriorate, all this will be brought up at the time of the de jure transfer to our great disadvantage and discredit in the eyes of the world. The fact of all this on the Goa problem is obvious.

2. But my main consideration is that we have given certain promises and

1. Note to the Union Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Secretary General, Foreign Secretary, Commonwealth Secretary and Kewal Singh, 26 August 1955. JN Collection.
2. Nehru was concerned about the acute economic situation created by the collapse of commercial and industrial activities in Pondicherry and adjacent former French settlements. This was brought on due to imposition of the imports and exports regulations by the Government of India. This itself affected the boatmen, dockers, labourers, numbering about 1500 families.

assurances and we have to keep them. These promises and assurances are not only about specific matters, but about our general approach to this question. If Pondicherry begins to show a phase of general disintegration and economic and cultural decay, that will be a very bad thing for us and for our reputation.<sup>3</sup>

3. I mention all this to point out the great importance of this problem from every point of view. I have a feeling that these factors have not been kept in mind and hence many of the difficulties that have arisen. We cannot treat Pondicherry as just an odd piece of India like any other odd piece. To begin with, *de jure* it is not a part of the Indian Union-yet. But apart from that, it has a background of three hundred years or more of French rule and French customs and French language and French trade contacts. Suddenly to wipe all this off and give it the high privilege of being a part of India and think that this high privilege is quite enough for anybody, is to ignore reality and to face trouble. As it is, we did rather badly in the elections there recently because of the economic setback to Pondicherry since the changeover there.

4. We have thus to keep in mind that any sudden change in Pondicherry in regard to economic or cultural or like matters is undesirable and likely to cause damage and misery to the people of Pondicherry, Karaikal, etc. It is quite conceivable that if there is a general impression of decay there and of going back, the French who have promised all kinds of help in the maintenance of cultural institutions will withdraw that help, and then the fall of Pondicherry will be complete and our reputation there will sink to the lowest level.

5. The Chief Commissioner, Kewal Singh, has been here and discussing various matters with departmental representatives. I hope these discussions will yield proper and prompt results. Delay is harmful.

6. I do not propose to discuss the various matters in this note. All I wish is to emphasise that Pondicherry has to be viewed as a very special case and not just as if it was in the ordinary run of things. We have a plan of development for Pondicherry. But this will take time and meanwhile the process of disintegration will continue and make it difficult even to do any developmental work later. We shall meet with frustration and opposition there.

7. I should like to mention, however, one or two matters which seem to me to require special attention:-

- (1) Economic matters: Two mills are closed and there is unemployment. The whole system of commerce is apparently suffering and naturally

3. Kewal Singh had pleaded with Nehru for a set of special measures and a generous attitude from the Indian Government with regard to Pondicherry. He averred: "Treating Pondicherry as any other small port on the east coast will only mean that Pondicherry will slowly but surely be reduced to a fishing village."



all these unemployed mill hands have got a grievance and will become more and more against us.<sup>4</sup> It is no good explaining to them the position in terms of high economics and politics. The fact is that they have suffered by the change. To some extent this was inevitable, perhaps, but every effort should be made to prevent this and to help the development of trade and commerce there even by treating Pondicherry as a special case. The changeover should be gradual and so as not to produce sudden injury. To say that Pondicherry must fall in line with the rest of India in this respect is not fair or reasonable and simply means that Pondicherry should go down. I hope, therefore, that something will be done to recognise this special position of Pondicherry. I would repeat that even in law Pondicherry has a special position de jure today and is not a part of the Indian Union.

- (2) There is a Medical College there, a hundred years old. It is not, perhaps, up to date. I gather that although it is carrying on, no fresh admissions have been made this year because of its uncertain future.<sup>5</sup> It would be a tragedy from the larger point of view to shut down this college after a hundred years of life under the French. This will become a symbol to be held up against us. The Medical College, therefore, has to continue and, indeed, to be improved. What the improvement should be I cannot say. Fresh admissions should take place not merely from Pondicherry but from outside too. I gather that quite a number of large buildings are available for use by the hospital.
- (3) There is the question of the pier there to which importance is attached.<sup>6</sup>
- (4) I gather that there has been a long discussion lasting many months now about French being replaced by Tamil.<sup>7</sup> I do not understand the difficulty. We have given a clear assurance that there will be no imposition of any kind in educational or cultural matters and for us to do anything which savours of such imposition would be a breach of our assurance and would create very harmful results. French education,

4. Two out of the three textile mills in Pondicherry had closed down soon after its de facto transfer to India, rendering nearly 3500 workers out of work. This along with the restrictions on imports had created serious discontent among the people.
5. The Pondicherry Medical College had to stop admission for the current year under instructions from the Education Ministry, which raised objection to its continuance on financial grounds.
6. In order to give a fillip to shipping, Kewal Singh had suggested building of a new pier, rather than reconstructing the old one. The proposed new pier at a more spacious site along with a railway siding would have cost about Rs twenty-nine lakhs.
7. While the French Government continued its support for cultural and educational institutes which continued to teach in French, there was a growing demand that at least English and Tamil be also included as mediums of instruction in these institutes.

whatever its other merits or demerits might be, has been supposed to be in the past on a higher intellectual level than almost any education. Their degree has a high standing in Europe and there is no reason why we should not recognise this. The French are a sensitive people but they are more sensitive about cultural and educational matters. Therefore, there should be a continuation in Pondicherry of the present system with gradual variations with the consent of the people concerned. Nothing can be imposed upon them if the people do not agree themselves.

- (5) The old Assembly before the transfer of power used to discuss the annual State budget. Naturally, the new Assembly wants to do this also. I have no doubt that this privilege should be accorded to them. They should not have a feeling of being deprived of a privilege they had previously.

8. Shri Kewal Singh, the Chief Commissioner, has given me a note on some of the problems in Pondicherry. I enclose a copy of this note.<sup>8</sup>

9. I shall be grateful if the Ministries concerned give urgent attention to these matters relating to Pondicherry so that quick decisions may be arrived at in accordance with our assurances and the political and international aspects of this question.

8. Kewal Singh had drawn Nehru's attention to the problems facing Pondicherry and had suggested certain measures such as; two years import-export concession to traders, establishment of some industries, such as, an engineering factory or a sugar mill etc., building a new pier, generous support to cultural and educational institutions to maintain the special status of Pondicherry.





## LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS





I<sup>1</sup>

In flight—Bombay to Cairo

5 June 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you from an unusual place. We are flying high up over the Arabian Sea in the first lap of our journey to the Soviet Union. For the last few days I have been anxious to write to you. I was reluctant to leave India without sending you my usual fortnightly letter. But the pressure of work was so great that I could not manage this.

2. Yesterday I went to Khadakvasala, near Poona, to see the new habitation of our National Defence Academy.<sup>2</sup> Five years ago I laid the foundation stone of one of the principal buildings there.<sup>3</sup> Now many novel buildings have grown up and life and vitality have come to this lovely corner of nature. This morning I was present at the passing-out parade of the cadets and I felt proud and happy to see the bearing of the hundreds of boys and young men who had come there for training from all parts of India.

3. My visits abroad, often arranged rather casually and with no specific purpose in view and under pressure of repeated invitations, sometimes assume a special importance because of other happenings. So it was when I went to China last year, so it is now that I am journeying to the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe. For a considerable time past I have been pressed to go to the Soviet Union. The idea of going to this great country naturally appealed to me, for here a great experiment had been carried out and was still in process of development and all inquiring and inquisitive minds must necessarily be interested in it, whether they approve of it or not. Perhaps we are yet too near it to judge it objectively, even though nearly thirty-eight years have passed since the Russian Revolution. And yet it is obvious that mighty changes have taken place in this vast area of the earth's surface and through novel methods, good or ill, large numbers of human beings have been conditioned in a new way.

4. I remember reading in the thirties the great work of the Webbs: *Soviet Communism—A New Civilization*.<sup>4</sup> I wondered then and I wonder still what this new civilization is. What are the enduring elements in it, what are superficial

1. File No. 25(6)/55-PMS. These letters have been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, (New Delhi 1988), pp. 185-194, 223-226, 252-261.

2. See *ante*, p. 3.

3. On 6 October 1949.

4. Sidney and Beatrice Webb. This book was published in 1932.



and will pass away. Is this a new religion that has appeared in human history with all the vitality and aggressiveness of a new faith, even though it puts on an economic garb? Is it a basic philosophy which gives us some understanding of the complexities of human relations and of the great and often tragic drama of man's adventure since first Homo sapiens appeared on the surface of the earth? Does it give us some glimpse of the future?

5. Bred up in the Gandhian tradition, and in the early twenties finding it largely satisfying, I had no need to search for new faiths and philosophies. But that tradition did not provide an adequate economic picture; it did condition us, however, in thinking in terms of peaceful action and high standards of behaviour. Both peaceful action and standards of behaviour appeared to be lacking in the Russian experiment and even in its philosophy, and so many of us reacted strongly against these methods and technique of action. We were prepared to excuse much in the peculiar circumstances of revolutions and war and a struggle for survival. But when this continued and this technique was even made into a philosophy and applied to other countries, when there were repeated purges and the like, then there were further doubts and distaste.

6. Nevertheless the economic appeal remained. Could the new economic approach, shorn of its violence and coercion and suppression of individual liberty, be helpful in solving our problems or the world's problems? The older methods, evolved by the capitalist world, had failed and offered no solution. Indeed they had led to great wars and they themselves, whatever their protestations, were based on violence and suppression of countries and people, and lack of integrity and moral approach.

7. These doubts and questionings I shared with many people, not only in my own country but in the world. There was no easy answer. Only by action and continuous effort and trial and error, could we proceed along the dimly lit path of the present towards an uncertain future. And whatever our decisions might be, events in other parts of the world could come in our way and influence them and even obstruct them.

8. These thoughts and others came back to me as I journeyed through the air to this land of revolutions and change. And then I thought of the political aspect of my visit. For, however casually it might have been undertaken, and with no special thought of international events, in people's minds it was inextricably mixed up with the political picture of the world. Indeed, it cannot be separated from it for independent India cannot escape her responsibilities and as our country grows in stature so also grow her duties and obligations and I cannot go anywhere as a private citizen. I have become too intimate a part of India to be able to function privately and individually.

9. I go now when all kinds of developments have taken place in the world of international affairs and no one quite knows where these might lead to. There is a hope and an aspiration in the minds of millions of men and women

all over the world that at long last they might move out of the dark night of fear and suspicion, of cold war threatening to merge into the terrible horror of an atomic war. But so many attempts have failed previously, so many hopes have been shattered, there is so much evil and hatred in the world, that people had almost come to believe in the inevitability of this final act in this tragic drama. Dare one hope still? And yet without hope and faith in the future, how can one function?

10. Fortunately for us in India, there is today far less of frustration than in most other parts of the world. Even though we have a multitude of problems, and difficulties surround us and often appear to overwhelm, there is the air of hope in this country, a faith in our future and a certain reliance on the basic principles that have guided us thus far. There is the breath of the dawn, the feeling of the beginning of a new era in the long and chequered history of India. I feel so and in this matter at least I think I represent innumerable others in our country.

11. I write about international affairs and the Soviet Union, and yet my mind clings to India and what we are going to do there. What of our Second Five Year Plan which is slowly taking shape in our minds and, to some extent, on paper? I wrote to you about this in my last letter and drew your attention to some pamphlets recently issued on behalf of the Planning Commission.

12. I called this a new approach. What exactly did this mean? It can very well be said that there is nothing very new in it. And yet it does represent a new turn in our thinking. Some people argue about physical planning and financial planning as if these were two diametrically opposed methods. Neither has been ignored in the past or can be ignored in the future. In the past, we had to keep the physical aspect in view and frame some targets accordingly. In the future, we must always keep our resources in mind or else our planning becomes merely wishful thinking. While we have always to keep both of these in view as the foundations for our planning, yet there is not only the question of emphasis but, what is more important, a balancing of the various sectors of our national activity so as to yield the highest results. We have to think of production and consumption, in terms of our physical needs, and of work and employment. We have to calculate, insofar as we can with our available data, so as to produce an optimum combination of various factors and policies. This is where real planning comes in.

13. We could not do this in framing our First Five Year Plan. We had no adequate data or experience and were rather tied down to the works we had already undertaken. Even now we have not got enough data and information. But we have something to go upon and we shall no doubt progressively add to it. Every Plan we make will have to be flexible so as to enable us to vary it with greater knowledge and fuller experience.

14. It is this new emphasis on this aspect of planning to which I would



like to draw your particular attention. Because this should govern your own State Plans. It will not be very helpful to the Planning Commission if you send them mere lists of projects and schemes. You should work them out in a balanced way and, more especially, showing how they affect employment.

15. This approach to planning in India is unique in its own way. Of course, some other countries have tried something like it and done so in a very rigid way, but the entire background there was very different and the objectives were also not the same as ours. We have to function in the framework of a democratic set-up and our methods have to be peaceful. Therefore we have to convince our people and carry them with us. There is going to be no authoritarianism and, on the whole, we aim at a decentralized economy. In no other country in the world has this experiment been tried in this way. I have no doubt that if we succeed, as we must, this will have powerful repercussions all over the world.

16. You will have noticed that stress is now being laid on the development of heavy industry on one side, and at the other end, the widespread organization of village industries. Without heavy industry we can never make India a modern, prosperous and strong nation. But without village industries on a vast scale we shall not be able to go far in providing employment. Village industries must therefore produce many of our consumer goods.

17. Of all the problems before us the biggest is this organization of village industries on a cooperative basis. The Planning Commission has just appointed a small expert committee<sup>5</sup> under Dr Karve's<sup>6</sup> chairmanship to consider this.

18. The Central Government has also appointed a resources committee<sup>7</sup> to consider what resources we can rely upon in our planning and how far we can add to them. It is obvious that we cannot go too far in planning if we have to function within the limits of our present available resources. Nor can we rely much on outside aid. We have therefore to think hard as to how we can add to our resources position. I should like you to give thought to this important matter. Potentially our resources are great in manpower and, I think, even in money, if we can reach the small man and he is prepared to help a little. We may go in for compulsory savings. We may raise the money locally for local projects. We might perhaps make part payment for labour in loan scrips. This subject requires full consideration.

5. The Village and Small Scale Industries (Second Five Year Plan) Committee was set up on 28 June 1955.

6. D.G. Karve (1898-1967); economist; Director, Programme Evaluation, Planning Commission, 1952-55; Chairman, Village and Small Scale Industries Committee, 1955; Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1954-55; Vice-Chancellor, University of Pune, 1959-61.

7. A Cabinet Committee with Nehru as Chairman and P.C. Mahalanobis as one of the members was appointed by the Cabinet in May 1955.

19. I suppose you have received from the Planning Commission the evaluation report on the second year's working of the community projects. This is a valuable and important document which deserves careful study with a view to our remedying our faults. But while the report tells us of our errors in omission and commission, it also tells us of the mighty changes that these projects and the National Extension Service are bringing about in rural India. Truly this is a magnificent movement which is bringing dynamism and social change to the 80% of our village population. It is revolutionary and far-reaching in its effects and already it is attracting the world's attention.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## II

New Delhi  
20 July 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter to you was sent I think from Cairo. As you know, I have recently returned from my long tour. I enclose a note on this tour.<sup>1</sup> I am afraid this note is rather rambling and does not deal with many important subjects which I should have liked to discuss, but it will at least give you some idea of the impressions I formed.

2. As I write this, the Four Power Conference is taking place in Geneva. I shall not attempt to forecast what the result of this will be. But I have a definite feeling that gradually a turn is taking place in international affairs, a turn for the better. But, there are innumerable hurdles and difficulties, and one must not expect too much to happen too soon.

3. The major question for discussion at Geneva will probably be Germany. That indeed is a vital problem for the future of Europe and affects the world. And yet, a more immediate and more explosive problem is that of the Far East and, more especially, of the Formosa Straits. It is in regard to this that we have been trying to create conditions so that there might be direct talks between China and the USA. I cannot say that we have succeeded but I believe some little progress has been made. Anyhow, the mere fact that there has been more or less a lull in military operations in the Formosa Straits is itself some gain.

1. See *ante*, pp. 264-283.



4. The situation in the Indo-China States has grown worse. There have been difficulties in Cambodia because of the USA-Cambodia Military Aid Agreement. For the moment, they are likely to be got over. In Laos again, there is continuous tension, but the Commission under India's chairmanship is doing a good piece of work and trying to hold the position together. Our object is to get the rival parties themselves to meet and come to agreement. The Commission has succeeded in getting them to meet both at the military level and the political level. These talks have, however, not yielded any results thus far.<sup>2</sup>

5. The real difficulty in Indo-China is in Vietnam. In accordance with the Geneva Agreement, talks about the elections in Vietnam next year should begin today, 20th July. But the South Vietnam Premier, Diem, has recently issued a statement repudiating any liability arising from the Geneva Agreement which he says South Vietnam did not sign. Further, he has laid down all kinds of conditions which are obviously meant to avoid elections.<sup>3</sup> Diem is correct in saying that South Vietnam did not sign the Agreement, but at the time of the Geneva Conference France was the dominant power in South Vietnam, and it was France that signed it. It was subsequent to this that Vietnam got some kind of theoretical independence. As a successor State to France in Vietnam, the Government now there is bound by France's engagements. I am afraid that we are heading for some trouble in Vietnam unless some way out of this deadlock is found.

6. Since my return to India, I have naturally been much concerned about developments in Goa.<sup>4</sup> We shall be considering these carefully soon. But of one thing I am quite clear: we must adhere to peaceful methods and we should avoid any development, such as mass satyagraha, which will necessarily come in the way of peaceful action in the future.

7. This is a brief letter, but my note on my tour is a long one and will take up some of your time.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Discussions began on 15 July between the representatives of the Royal Government and Pathet Lao forces on questions of general elections, integration of the Laotian people as a nation, and methods of ensuring civil liberties. Discussions also took place at a military level between the two sides to implement a ceasefire. See also *ante*, p. 365.
3. Diem made negotiations for the unification of the country conditional on the North Vietnam giving clear proof of placing national interests above communism.
4. From 18 May 1955 about 800 *satyagrahis* had entered Goa in support of the Goan nationalists. Nine of them were arrested while others returned. There was demand for 'police action' and support of the mass satyagraha including a 'limited war' by the Hindu Mahasabha, Jana Sangh and the Praja Socialist Party. See also *ante*, p. 388.

## III

New Delhi

2 August 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

With my last fortnightly letter, I sent you a note on my visit to the Soviet Union and other countries. I am sending you a second note with this letter.<sup>1</sup> This note deals more with the political aspects of the international situation. I am afraid it is rather a long one, but I thought that it might be worthwhile for me to deal with the new situation that is developing in the world today. I have a feeling that we are on the threshold of a new approach to international problems and that gradually we might get out of this dark period of war. But I must make it clear that this will take time, and we must not expect any quick results.

2. There have been many indications, during the past six months, about this gradual change taking place. The latest evidence was the Four Power Conference at Geneva. We have to proceed warily and not expect too much or too quickly. But I think we are justified in taking a much more hopeful view of the future than we have done in the past.

3. The meeting of the US and Chinese Ambassadors in Geneva<sup>2</sup> is a very small beginning in the direct relations of the US with China, and as such it is significant. The release of the American airmen prisoners in China will improve the situation considerably.<sup>3</sup> The recent speech of Premier Chou En-lai was definitely conciliatory.<sup>4</sup>

4. In another two months' time, the States Reorganization Commission is likely to submit its report.<sup>5</sup> This will be a very important document dealing with a question of vital concern to India. You may be surprised to learn that I have no idea of what their recommendations are likely to be. Whatever they are, they will naturally have great weight and command attention. No possible recommendation or solution of this problem can meet with universal approval and, therefore, whatever they suggest is bound to displease somebody. We can

1. See *ante*, pp. 296-311.

2. The meeting took place from 1 August to discuss repatriation of nationals between the two countries and "certain other practical matters now at issue on both sides." See also *ante*, pp. 357-359.

3. Beijing Radio announced on 30 July 1955 the release of eleven American airmen. They returned home on 12 August 1955.

4. In his speech on 30 July, Chou said that China stood for peaceful settlement of her claim to Taiwan and hoped for an early start of negotiations with the Taiwan authorities. He also hoped that the United States would sign a pact for collective peace in Asia to replace the military blocs. See also *ante*, p. 380.

5. The report was submitted on 30 September 1955.



say nothing about it on merits because we do not know what it is going to be, but there are certain broad approaches to this problem which we might well bear in mind.

5. The question of redistribution of provinces in linguistic provinces has roused much excitement and even passion in certain parts of the country. Like all subjects which excite people, it is difficult to consider it calmly and objectively as it deserves. The great danger we have to face is that the country might suddenly be pushed into fierce controversies which will not only prevent a solution of this particular problem but affect our other problems also.

6. Just about this time, the draft Second Five Year Plan is likely to be published.<sup>6</sup> The whole future of that Plan might well be imperilled by the controversies over redistribution of States.

7. How, then, are we to meet this situation? As far as I can see, the only statesman like approach would be to accept, broadly speaking, the unanimous recommendations of the Commission, whether we like them or not. Any other attitude for Government to take up would be to take sides in this controversy and thus be fiercely assailed for partiality. It may be that some of the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission appear to us to be unwise. It is better to accept that bit of un wisdom than to do something which leads to unfortunate consequence.

8. The best course, therefore, appears to me for us to accept the main recommendations of the Commission, subject to minor modifications if necessary, and thus try to put an end to these controversies and conflicts. If possible, we should try to implement those decisions before the next general elections.

9. I have consulted a number of our colleagues whose opinion I value, and all of us came to this conclusion. I am, therefore, mentioning this to you, because it is desirable to have our minds clear about our approach even before the report of the Commission comes out.

10. Living in Delhi, I see the unplanned and disorganized way in which this city is spreading. There is plenty of construction work going on, both governmental and private. But no one has in view any broad picture of the future. In Delhi we have the misfortune to have a number of overlapping authorities. We are trying to establish one overall planning authority for Delhi. Meanwhile, new buildings crop up every where which will come in the way of our planning. We are trying to stop this by legislation.

11. I am referring to this matter because I suppose every city in India has to face this problem. If we do not plan now, we shall have to face difficulties later. I suggest to you, therefore, that some kind of picture of your principal

6. The draft outline was published on 10 February 1956.



WITH MADAM TITO, INDIRA GANDHI AND MARSHAL TITO,  
BRIONI, 7 JULY 1955





WITH ANTONIO SEGNI, ROME, 7 JULY 1955

cities ten or twenty or more years hence should be drawn up and all constructions should fit in with this picture. There is a tendency now to put up multi-storeyed buildings. There is no harm in that and indeed there is no escape from it. But multi-storeyed buildings should have a broad road in front to allow for the additional traffic that is bound to come. Many of the old cities in Europe have relatively narrow streets and the traffic problem has become almost beyond solution.

12. Then there is the question of proper drainage and parks. I find in Delhi that even our much prized open spaces are gradually being encroached upon by buildings, sometimes Government structures. I am much concerned about this and hence my wish to draw your attention to it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### IV

New Delhi  
26 August 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I have delayed writing to you this letter, although much has happened since I wrote to you last. Our Independence Day, August 15th, began as a day of rejoicing and ended with tragedy. Subsequently, in Bombay, Calcutta and to some extent in Delhi, occurrences took place which must have filled you, as they did me, with concern. Goa has become a test for all of us in many ways. But even more important than Goa is how we behave. If we go to pieces, then everything else loses its significance and importance.

2. My tour in the Soviet Union and other countries of Europe and the welcome that I got there was naturally appreciated in India. Apart from the personal factor, there was a realization that there was something deeper behind these welcomes and demonstrations. It was a desire for peace, a return to some normality and security, and a feeling that India had served this cause of peace. It would be absurd to say that it was principally due to India that this gradual change came about over the world. But this would be true that India's consistent policy had helped. That policy was justified by events and hence the appreciation of this policy in quarters that had thus far looked at it with dislike.

3. During the post-War years, we have had to deal with two sets of circumstances: one is the outstanding and dominant position of two great countries, the USA and the USSR, and their hostility and fear of each other.



Round these countries gathered others and so two major groups opposed to and afraid of each other dominated international affairs with their fears and rivalries. The second factor was a kind of epidemic of revolutionary movements in various parts of the world, notably in Asia and Africa. These revolutionary movements were the result of internal and sometimes long-distance causes, as well as the upset caused by the Second World War. This War put an end to the old balance of power in the world or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that the nineteenth century balance had been upset by the First World War and ever since then no real equilibrium had been established. The period between the World Wars was a troubled period. There was plenty of petty wars and major upheavals in China and Spain. There was Mussolini and later Hitler. Unable to find an equilibrium, events marched to the dreadful climax of the Second World War.

4. This Second Great War brought about even greater upsets than the first had done and, ever since then, the world has vainly sought some kind of a balance or equilibrium. Meanwhile, powerful movements, national or with a social purpose, have affected many countries. They have taken many shapes. Some have been clearly nationalistic; other have appeared to be communist or, at any rate, they have been dominated by communist. But, even there, nationalism and the desire to put an end to foreign and colonial rule has been evident. In India, we achieved our freedom in our own peaceful way, by agreement. Largely as a consequence of India's independence, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon also became independent. Indonesia followed and, then, that vast country China, suddenly emerged as a powerful nation under communist rule. Meanwhile, war continued in the States of Indo-China and Korea. In North Africa, there were nationalist movements and sporadic uprisings. In the rest of Africa, there was a new awakening of the African people.

5. Many of these national movements were believed to have been caused by international communism. This is a very limited reading of the situation. Communism undoubtedly encouraged some of them and, in others, it came into conflict with nationalism. Essentially, these revolutionary movements were born of the soil and of the conditions that had prevailed there. They would have happened anyhow, though it is possible that they might have taken a somewhat different turn in some places but for this new factor of communism.

6. Thus, there was a great upheaval in the relationships of nations, and this upheaval continued without settling down. In Europe, there was no fighting, but the problem of Germany was far the most important and dangerous problem in the world, and events appeared to march slowly towards some inevitable doom. This happened also in the Far East where the whole balance had been upset by the emergence of China. In Asia, there was turmoil of various kinds, sometimes influenced by communist activities, but principally representing the urge for freedom from colonial rule. Africa was less developed politically, but

it was obvious to any clear-sighted individual that there were the rumblings there of a mighty earthquake.

7. Generally speaking, however, international affairs were dominated by the conflict between the two major groups and, between these two, tension increased and preparations for war became more and more hurried and dominant. People's minds, in spite of their fear and dislike of war, came to accept this horror as an inescapable calamity. A large number of countries were committed to this group or that. Others, though uncommitted and unaligned, gave their sympathy to one or the other. That sympathy was partly based on some ideological foundation but largely on the expectation that one or the other group would lead them to the freedom they desired.

8. In this tremendous confusion and outpouring of hatred and violence, it was difficult for the voice of peace to be listened to. It is true that the word 'peace' was shouted aloud, just as 'democracy' was bandied about. But these slogans themselves were used in a context of hatred and war. India's voice was a thin, small one, criticized, decried, laughed at and disliked. It was one of the turning points of history for that voice suddenly to assume a certain importance in world affairs. That was not because of India's strength but, rather, because of the rightness of that policy. The only alternative to it was war, and there can be no doubt that nearly all the peoples of the world did not want war.

9. During the last year or more, a gradual change has come over the international scene. It may be said to have begun with the armistice<sup>1</sup> in the Korean war and more so by the Geneva Agreements of a year ago<sup>2</sup> when opposing parties met together and found some way of cooperating, even though in a limited field. The pressure of events drove them, almost against their will, to this Agreement.

10. Other things happened. After Stalin's death, changes began in the Soviet Union. The atom and hydrogen bomb became realities in the public mind and it began to dawn on people everywhere that war was not inevitable and could possibly be avoided. In effect, the idea of peaceful co-existence became practical. The German problem today is far from solution, but nobody imagines that there is going to be war over it and the partition of Germany is accepted for the present and for the foreseeable future. In the Far East, the decision of the United States to contain Chiang Kai-shek and practically give up the idea of attacking the mainland of China was itself an indirect acceptance of the People's Government of China. Even in Korea, the partition appears to be accepted and in Vietnam, some countries would rather have two Vietnams than have a conflict over them or even an election. All this means an acceptance of the status quo

1. In July 1953.

2. In July 1954.



in areas of imminent danger. That acceptance is by no means permanent, but it is preferred to the alternative of war. In other words, the Great Powers are more or less agreed today that force will not be used to change the status quo. This is not a formal agreement of course, but nevertheless this may be said to be the present position.

11. Such a result is of high significance and naturally lessens tensions and the fear of war. It leads people to think more realistically in terms of negotiated settlements. We may still be very far from such settlements. But at least we look in that direction now and have turned away from thinking continually of an approaching cataclysm.

12. All this fits in with India's policy and in our small way we have helped to bring it about both directly and to some extent by influencing others. It is for this reason that India's credit in the world stands high.

13. With this background of world affairs, let us look at the picture of India internally today. On the whole, it may be said that we have made good on the economic front and laid the foundations of future progress. It is true that we have only touched the fringe of the problem and the real difficulties have still to be faced. We struggle with these difficulties from day to day in trying to formulate our Second Five Year Plan. Our hopes and wishes run far ahead of our present capacity and resources. Nevertheless, a feeling of confidence has been created in the country, a feeling of self-reliance and that is more important than large sums of money. In this relatively favourable prospect, we see suddenly outbursts of mob fury and frenzy in Patna and Bihar and, subsequently, the misbehaviour of mobs and unruly crowds in Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere. One may allow for excitement and even anger at certain events, but nothing can excuse this collapse of the people's discipline and their turning suddenly to violence and mischief. Our complacency received a rude shock. Where was our policy of peace and goodwill; where was all the discipline that we thought that we had built up in our country? Was India, in spite of her achievements, doomed to fail? If so, then everything else had no substance and we would topple down at any rude impact.

14. This is a serious situation, almost too serious for us to talk about it much. I have referred to it briefly on one or two occasions, but I have said little of what I had in mind. My faith in India has essentially been based on faith in the soundness of the Indian people. So long as that is held, other things would follow. But if that foundation itself was shaken, then the rest would collapse.

15. I have no doubt that you must also have given a good deal of thought to these occurrences and what they indicate. It may be that political parties or mischievous groups, taking advantage of the situation, have deliberately incited the people. Even so, why should the people respond in the way they did, forgetting all discipline and decency and all that they had been supposed to

learn during the last thirty or forty years? Why should our students behave in the way they did? Most amazing of all, why do people not condemn wrong behaviour in students? I have heard few voices doing this. Indeed, at the height of this misbehaviour, everyone seemed to be praising students in Bihar, just when they were acting in a disgraceful way. All this stands quite apart from what the police did. Let us assume that the police were quite wrong. That does not justify students and citizens insulting the Flag, insulting the Governor who was the Head of the State, doing public damage, causing grievous injury to hundreds of persons, attacking completely innocent passengers in railway trains and other places and generally creating violent anarchy. In Goa, tragedy occurred and India was shocked beyond measure. But it was a strange way to express sorrow by breaking other people's heads and demonstrating to the world how undisciplined and unruly we were. We, who talk of non violence and peace and coexistence, put up this show for the world to see. It was a painful thought. The only good it has done is to pull us up and make us realize the dangers of complacency. We shall have to work hard, and we shall have to work fearlessly if we are to meet this situation. There can be no compromise with this particular type of evil. Some people think that we may lose an election if we irritate the students or others. Perhaps so, but we are in the process of losing our souls and our integrity if we submit to this kind of thing.

16. I would rather write to you about a subject which should be uppermost in my mind but for these troubles, the subject of the Second Five Year Plan and the future that we are seeking to build up. That is the most important thing for us, for on that depends both our future happiness and our reputation. But there can be no planning if we are continually faced by these riotous situations and utter lack of discipline. Planning is essentially coordinated discipline. Soon, there will be a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council.<sup>3</sup> This will review our resources and the various draft plans tentatively put forward for consideration. It will have to undertake the painful task of somehow bridging the gap between aspiration and reality. It becomes clearer to me that long distance planning, important as it is, will have to be rather general and that we shall have to fill in details every year. Naturally, some of our major projects are not for the year, and they take many years to complete. If we undertake them, we have to go through with them. Mixing up of long-distance plans with detailed current plans produces some confusion and in this confusion long-distance thinking suffers. If we are terribly busy with our day to day problems, we cannot give much thought to the morrow or the day after. You will remember that, even in the First Five Year Plan, our initial success led us to add to that Plan considerably even during the five years. I have every

3. It met on 5 September 1955.



hope that we shall be able to do so in the future also, and we need not imagine that the Plan we make now is something rigid in that respect.

17. More and more, the country becomes plan-conscious. That is a great gain, but this consciousness has to be translated into the reality of the clear thinking and close cooperation at all levels of Government and people. The idea of merely planning for a number of projects almost independently of each other, is clearly no planning at all. We talk of planning for needs, keeping resources in view of course. The calculation of needs, necessarily, leads to working out the entire picture. The development of our industry cannot succeed without railway and transport. Our industry cannot get on without steel and coal. We were unwise to delay steel production in the past and now we have to face this problem in a big way. In the Central Government, there has to be the closest dovetailing between the Ministries of Iron and Steel, Production, Commerce and Industry and Railways and Transport. Between the States and the Centre, there must of necessity be the closest cooperation. And, above all, we have to think of the employment aspect. The more we look at the manifold aspects of planning, the more intricate it appears. At the same time, as we understand it more and more, we get to grips with it and a certain assurance comes that we shall deal with it successfully.

18. I must congratulate the States on the care taken in the preparation of their plans. There has been far greater realism in the approach now than there was at the time of the First Five Year Plan. Also, we see that much more money is forthcoming now from the people in the shape of loans and savings campaigns. I hope that full publicity will be given to all that we are doing in the States and in the Centre. Let the people realize the nature of the problems, the difficulties we have to face, and the effort we shall have to make in order to succeed.

19. As you know, I have attached the greatest importance to our community projects and the National Extension Service. The latter is the broad base on which we shall build. The community project is the activating element without which the broad base would be rather lifeless. It is important, therefore, that this work which has already met with so much success should be continued with full vigour.

20. Our Parliament is meeting and is hard at work. I shall not tell you what it has been doing for this receives publicity enough. In Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam and North Bengal, heavy floods have again descended upon us. In Pakistan many changes have taken place. There is a new Governor-General and a new Prime Minister and a Cabinet. The rupee there has been devalued at last.<sup>4</sup> In Indo-China, difficulties abound and increase and we have to face them.

4. On 31 July 1955.

In Geneva there has been a hopeful and promising Conference, that on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.<sup>5</sup> One of our eminent scientists<sup>6</sup> presided over this, a sign and a portent of our future development in this tremendous field.

21. You may have read Dr Bhabha's inaugural address<sup>7</sup> in which he divided up human history into three phases. The first was right from the beginning upto the Industrial Revolution about 150 years ago. The Industrial Revolution ushered in the second phase with great power at man's disposal. We stand now on the threshold of the third great phase when unimagined sources of power may be opened out to the world. In this new epoch of the world, India has certain marked advantages. But the question comes here, as elsewhere, as to how far this power will be used for good. More than ever it is human standards and values that are going to count.

22. I have written little about the problem of Goa, which has become so important for us. It does not matter much if the solution of this problem is delayed by a year or two. It does matter greatly that we do not take a wrong step. Unfortunately a wrong direction has been given to the movement for the liberation of Goa and hence our difficulties have increased.

23. I am going early tomorrow morning to Assam, partly to see the flood-affected areas, partly to confer with our colleagues there about certain problems affecting the tribal areas. Assam is one of our problem States because of the multiplicity and the variety of the problems it has to face.

24. I shall not be here to sign this letter. I hope you will forgive me for this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was held from 8 to 21 August 1955.

6. Homi J. Bhabha.

7. In his address on 8 August, Bhabha declared that growth of atomic energy in the world as an industry would compel the major States to agree to maintain peace. He said that "our first duty as scientists is to establish the truth and in this matter our responsibility to humanity transcends our allegiance to any State." He also felt that man's need for power would be met by harnessing within the next twenty years the vast potential of atomic energy.





## MISCELLANEOUS





# 1. To Indira Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 July 1955

Indu darling,

I hope you will reach India fairly fresh and not too tired.<sup>2</sup> I am trying to get back to normal life. This is not easy as people insist on lionising me.

Ring me up after your arrival—say between three thirty & four thirty p.m. I shall be in my office in External Affairs—Number 31360, New Delhi.

I found the children well—Rajiv had a slight difficulty in bending fully his right arm but this was gradually passing. The X-ray examination in Dalhousie had revealed no fracture. There had been a big swelling of his arm, round about the elbow, and this had almost entirely subsided.

Feroze had an X-ray taken here by a more competent man and better apparatus. This revealed that there had been a small fracture which had healed but some other small bone-formation had developed (I can't explain all this but it was nothing much). So the surgeon decided to immobilise the right arm by putting plaster round it. He said that in about ten or twelve days the small growth of bone will be absorbed and all will be well. This surgeon is very good—exceptionally so. He has recently come back to India from England—his name is Doraiswamy.

So if you see Rajiv with plaster round his arm do not worry.

Rajiv & Sanjay just came in. They are going to the swimming pool. Sanjay to try to swim and Rajiv to look on.

Love,  
Papu

1. Sonia Gandhi (ed.) *Two Alone, Two Together: Letters between Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru 1940-64*, pp. 611-612.
2. Indira Gandhi had stayed on in Europe after accompanying Nehru on his visit to the Soviet Union.



## 2. To Tikaram Paliwal<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

17 July 1955

My dear Tikaramji,<sup>2</sup>

I am writing to you about Farooq Abdullah, the son of Shaikh Abdullah of Kashmir. I understand that Farooq has been admitted in the Jaipur Medical College. He had some difficulty in getting a place in a Medical College, and I am glad he has at last been admitted there.

Some people foolishly imagine that because we have had differences with Shaikh Abdullah, therefore we are not favourably inclined towards his son or his family. This of course, is not only absurd but is just the reverse of how we feel. Personally, because Shaikh Abdullah is in prison, I feel rather a special responsibility that we should try to help his sons and family.

Farooq saw me the other day and, rather casually, he mentioned that some of the students of the Jaipur Medical College had referred rather insultingly to his father as a traitor etc. I was sorry to hear this. I suppose one cannot go about telling boys to behave, but tactfully one should try to create a different atmosphere. I am told that the Principal, Kasliwal,<sup>3</sup> is trying to help Farooq. That is good. I am also told that Hiralal Shastri has promised to take some interest in Farooq.

There is one point however in which I should like you to interest yourself, if it is possible. This is about hostel accommodation. There are, I understand, two hostels attached to the Jaipur Medical College, one in the College compound itself and the other some distance away, near a cinema. At present, Farooq has been given a room, or perhaps he shares a room in the hostel near the cinema. Normally, first year students are sent there.

In all the circumstances, however, it would be better for him to be given accommodation in the hostel in the College compound itself. Also, that if

1. JN Collection.

2. Tikaram Paliwal (1909-95); Congress leader of Rajasthan; participated in non-cooperation movement and salt satyagraha, arrested several times; member, Legislative Assembly of Jaipur State, 1946-1948; General Secretary of Rajasthan Provincial Congress Committee, 1949-1951; Revenue Minister, 1951-1952, Minister for Finance, Public Works, Irrigation, Law, Community Projects, 1952-1954 and Chief Minister of Rajasthan, 1952 (for about six months); member, Lok Sabha, 1962-1967.

3. Rajmal Kasliwal (1906-90); served in Indian Medical Service in Indian Army, 1935-46; joined INA in 1942 and became Director of Medical Services of Azad Hind Fauj; Professor of Medicine, Agra Medical College, 1946-48; Director, Medical and Health Services, Rajasthan, 1948-51; Professor and Head of Department of Medicine, S.M.S. Medical College, 1951-66 and its Principal, 1955-66; Vice-President, Academy of Medical Sciences, 1967-69.

possible he should be given a room by himself, however small the room might be. Living with other boys, who perhaps do not like him or make fun of him, would create difficulties. Farooq has obviously gone through a very difficult period during the last two years and, at his age, there is danger of his developing complexes and the like. If however he has good work to do, proper living quarters and some friendly companionship, this would have a very good effect on him.

I would therefore, like you to interest yourself in this matter and have a talk with Kasliwal on the subject and see what can be done.

You might also later see Farooq and tell him that he can come to you for any help. Keep in touch with him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. Splendour of the Himalayas<sup>1</sup>

What is it that draws men to the high mountains and to the deserts? What urge leads them to write about them? There are many books about mountain treks and desert journeys and some of them are classics of their kind. And yet, there are not enough of these books and a new one is always welcome.

I do not know much about deserts except that my little acquaintance with them has rather fascinated me. But mountains, and especially the higher altitudes, where one can commune with the snowy peaks, attract me enormously. With the Himalayas, I feel a little intimate, partly because I have seen much more of them, partly because they are so wrapped up in India's story and legend. Once, thirteen years ago, I went up the Kulu Valley to Manali. That was as far as I could go then as I had to be back to the hot plains below. But, from Manali I looked in the direction of the high passes beyond which lie Spiti and Lahoul. I consoled myself with the thought that I would come again and cross that mountain barrier to this new land which was so utterly different from the India I knew.

But that opportunity has not come to me and I fear it will never come now. New Delhi, with its strange and rather unreal atmosphere and its

1. Foreword to *Himalayan Circuit* by G.D. Khosla, 24 July 1955. File No. 9/148/55-PMS. The book, about a journey in the inner Himalayas, was published in 1956.



multifarious occupations, holds me prisoner and, even when I go to the mountains, it is to some place of relatively easy access and for two or three days only. I fear there are no long treks for me now and perhaps I have passed the age of these feats of valour. This is a disturbing thought.

I remember many a trek in these solitudes of Himalayas. Most of them were in the upper valleys of Kashmir which exercise such a powerful fascination on me as on many others. I remember the wonderful lakes edged by some glacier and often partly covered with a layer of ice. In the pride of my younger days, and perhaps to show off a little, I jumped into them and swam about a little, almost frozen in the process. I remember also, with a feeling of nostalgia, wonderful carpets of flowers right up to the edge of the snow and the bracing air which brought a new dimension to life. There were few human beings at those altitudes, but there was enchantment in that loneliness, a sense of vast spaces and something of eternity.

Not having been able to go to Spiti and Lahoul, I have read this book to get some second hand knowledge of this area. [I would have preferred to go there without the paraphernalia of a big caravan which Khosla<sup>2</sup> and Shrinagesh<sup>3</sup> took with them. My own experience has shown to me that half the pleasure of a trek across the mountains is lost if there is too much organisation about it].<sup>4</sup>

I hope this book will bring some breath of the inner Himalayas and of a strange land to the unfortunate people who always live in the plains below and know little of the joys and risks and dangers of the high mountains.

2. G.D. Khosla.

3. J.M. Shrinagesh.

4. These lines were not included in the book.

#### 4. Renaming of Suites in Rashtrapati Bhavan<sup>1</sup>

I think that the names of Viceroys given to rooms and suites in Rashtrapati Bhavan should be changed. Of course, this must be done after the President's views have been obtained and in accordance with his directions. It does seem odd for the names of these suites to be after departed Viceroys.

1. Note to Yadunath Singh, Military Secretary to the President, 28 July 1955. File No. 2(756)/55-PMS.

## 5. Emergency Relief Organisation<sup>1</sup>

I have read these papers with interest. I think it is right and desirable for the Bharat Sevak Samaj to take up this work and train people for it, but I do not quite see where our Army comes into the picture. The Secretary mentions that he is going to call on the Defence Minister and the Chief of Staff of the Army. What exactly is he going to discuss with them? It might be possible, of course, sometimes for an Army officer to be invited to train our people in some matters. That can certainly be done. In an active emergency, it is also desirable for the Bharat Sevak Samaj people and others to cooperate with the Army. But this question of cooperation with the Army should arise only after we have trained some people and should rather be taken up with the local Army Commander, naturally with the consent of headquarters.

2. What I am anxious about is that this proposal should not be mixed up with what is often called "social defence" in a different sense. The Army thinks of social defence in terms of war and protection of people from enemy bombing etc. They have very detailed and complicated schemes for the purpose. On several occasions, proposals have been made to give training to people with this object in view. I have not approved of them because this meant digging of trenches and fire alarms and generally making a great deal of noise, as if we were expecting a war. It frightens people. This is the kind of thing that Pakistan has done in the past.

3. I thoroughly disapproved of all this, and I do not want Bharat Sevak Samaj even indirectly to take any such matter up. Of course, if our people are trained for normal emergency work, they can be used at any time and in any emergency. But we must be clear that we are not thinking in terms of war emergencies.

4. For this reason also, I do not like "social defence" as a desirable term, "social assistance" is also a feeble term. Perhaps, we might use the term "emergency work". The unit may well be called "Emergency Relief Organisation."

5. Mention is made of training for earthquake disasters. Earthquakes, though very harmful, do not occur frequently. When they occur, only certain areas of India suffer from them. I rather doubt if it is necessary to give any special training for these earthquake disasters. Of course, as I have said above, every kind of general training for emergency work fits in with any disaster.

1. Note to G.L. Nanda, 31 July 1955. File No. 40(244)/52-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to the Home Secretary.



## 6. To G.V. Mavalankar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
2 August 1955

My dear Mavalankarji,

Thank you for your letter of 1st August.<sup>2</sup>

I think it will be a very good thing if we develop, under your guidance, some conventions in Parliament. It will be no easy matter as, in some respects, Indians are more unconventional than almost any people. However, an attempt can certainly be made.

In regard to dress, there is so much difference in various parts of India that it will be exceedingly difficult to produce normality. You suggest people wearing a white cap. Many have never worn a cap all their lives, like Bengalis.

There has been a tendency in the parliaments of other countries for the old conventions to break down. Even in the British Parliament, Labour MPs ceased to observe them in regard to dress.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 32(47)-48/PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Referring to criticism in the press and talks among the visiting foreigners about want of proper dress of members of Parliament, Mavalankar, the Speaker of Lok Sabha, had suggested a khadi dress consistent with the requirement of climate and decency—a dhoti or a *chudidar* pyjama, a *jibba* or a *sherwani* and a white cap or a pant, coat and hat in western style but in khaddar. He also wrote about usual conventions not being observed by the members.

## 7. Press Commission Report<sup>1</sup>

... Jawaharlal Nehru: Now coming to the Press Commission,<sup>2</sup> I wonder how

1. Proceedings of the AICC Parliamentary Committee meeting. New Delhi, 5 August 1955, AICC tapes, Extracts.
2. The Press Commission was appointed on 3 October 1952 with G.S. Rajadhyaksha as chairman and C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Narendra Deva, Zakir Husain, V.K.R.V. Rao, P.H. Patwardhan, T.N. Singh, J. Natarajan, A.R. Bhat and M. Chalapathi Rau as members. In March 1953, A.D. Mani replaced Natarajan.



IN THE VATICAN, 8 JULY 1955





WITH NASSER, CAIRO, 11 JULY 1955

many of you have read this fat book containing the report of the Commission.<sup>3</sup> I might confess, that I have read parts of it. It is a very interesting report. I hope I will read more of it, because it is very interesting. But I have read the main provisions, of course.

Now, there are large number of recommendations but one thing over which much controversy has arisen, has been their proposal, what you call, the price-page schedule. That is to say, the price of the newspaper to be fixed according to the size of the newspaper. Now, broadly speaking the smaller newspapers or the newspapers of lesser resources want some such limitations on the bigger newspapers. The bigger ones would not like that limitation. In other words, the bigger one can have, as big a newspaper, and keep down its price, which then attracts a large number of advertisements, because advertisements go, well, according to circulation, circulation goes up and all that. Now it is felt, that it weigh down the smaller newspaper very much. And smaller newspapers therefore cannot compete with them satisfactorily.... Then it is said that we talk about big newspapers and small newspapers in India but compared to most countries, many countries, there are no big newspapers here at all in regard to circulation. Our bigger circulation is 90,000 or may be a 1,00,000. In other countries, even countries like Egypt it is ten times as much.... In fact it is very surprising that the total circulation of all the newspapers in India is ridiculously small. Taking literacy into consideration, even then, it is low. The buying habit in India of newspapers or books is about the lowest anywhere. Of course, if you take into consideration that people can't afford to buy, that is a different matter.... It is not merely a question of money, all the money comes in.... It is a question really of a habit. And that is a big problem... I have no doubt that if, intelligently and scientifically thought out we can get a large reading public in books provided the books are cheap. I think we can get it and one or two experiments that have been made recently have been successful in that respect. People here think, almost entirely in terms of only text books. Therefore, they forget this vast public in India which ought to be approached. Well, leave out books.

3. The full report of the Commission was presented in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on 23 August 1954. Of the 35 recommendations, the important ones were: (1) constitution of an All India Press Council to maintain the independence of the press; (2) the formulation of a code of ethics for journalists; (3) appointment of a Press Registrar; (4) establishment of a State Trading Corporation to deal with the newsprint supply; (5) a price-page schedule for newspapers. (6) making this industry a Central responsibility; (7) banning publication of entry forms for prize-competitions in journals and periodicals; (8) a strict limit on advertising and a code for that; (9) minimum wage and better conditions for working journalists; (10) amendment of press laws.



Here it is this newspaper problem. Now, the Press Commission recommends certain standards, minimum working conditions for working journalists. Nobody here is going to say no to that. Of course, we want those conditions to be laid down. The smaller newspapers say, we are perfectly prepared to have those conditions provided you help us in some other way. One of the ways that they say help will come to them is by applying this price-page schedule. They say, that will probably help us and we may be able to shoulder the burden. The few bigger newspapers say that in trying to help the smaller ones you would not help them really, but you will undermine the bigger ones which has gradually through the years built themselves up as stable organisations. You simply weaken them without strengthening anybody else. That, briefly put, the argument of course, one can go into that more deeply later.

There is again a separate question of all the connected chains of newspapers monopoly growing up which is of course bad. One does not like that monopoly to happen. So broadly speaking that is the point. I do not think you can, of course speak about every matter mentioned in the report. It is better to concentrate on certain major issues rather than going into a large number of small ones. I suggest that after the members Dr Kesar may speak.<sup>4</sup>

If the Government, immediately wants to announce anything other than the basic issue, it will be highly improper. But I may tell you that in regard to the basic issue of price-page schedule, Government has not come to any conclusion yet, and they want in this matter in particular to hear members of the Party. In regard to the large number of other minor matters, the Government is more or less favourable. The Government would have taken a decision long ago but for this basic matter which affects other matters....

As Mr Gadgil referred, to what the Government or Cabinet decided about that price-page schedule previously. That matter never came up to us in this form. The only question was whether there is enough newsprint in the country or not, that was the sole consideration at that time. When the price-page schedule was introduced it was because of lack of newsprint, to save newsprint, etc. When there is an abundance of it, it will be taken away. This question was not considered at all this way or that way.

Thankful to you Sir, for giving me an opportunity....

... What I said was this that it was perhaps not worthwhile for exactly the same thing to be said again and again by every member. The point is that anybody who wishes to put before the Party a contrary opinion or some variation of this, something different, is alright otherwise it is a mere repetition.

4. B.V. Kesar hoped that the discussion would concentrate on the service conditions of the working journalists specially on gratuity, provident fund, leave and minimum wage.

Now the question of minimum wage, I tell you, comes up in this way, as always, that conditions in India differ whether the minimum wage in Lahore should be the same as in Trivandrum, not Lahore I am sorry, I forgot, I meant the Punjab, whatever it is. Because in South India the wages are relatively lower, sometimes much lower than the North. Now if you fix a minimum wage, let us say Rs 150, most people go out of work in Trivandrum and in Mysore and elsewhere they just close shops. So even the minimum wage will have to be regional minimum wage probably. Nobody can oppose the principle of minimum wage.

This is, if I may say so, in spite of Mr T.N. Singh, may I say it has nothing to do with this, therefore, we close the debate, but agreeing to what you say I mean to say excepting all this the question nevertheless is a very difficult one. I am not talking about the price-page schedule, etc. The whole question of the newspaper, future of the newspaper, is an extraordinarily difficult one. It is all very well for Mr Gadgil to say that it should be a crusade and not an industry; well, it is an industry, it is going to remain an industry because everything that requires high technique and technological processes require large capital and where you want large capital and large technological processes, well it becomes an industry inevitably. The industry may be run for the public good or not, it may be a state industry that is a different matter. We just cannot help it. You see the newspaper has been affected as everything in this wide world by technological development and it is no good thinking in terms of a handpress issuing a newspaper, you might do it in village if you like it, it just cannot be done, it cannot have the resources to get news or collect it. Therefore, every real worthwhile newspaper today inevitably becomes something which requires rather large capital because of the machines involved, secondly because of the news collecting agencies involved. If you go further you want your correspondents in different places in the country or in the world. Now, obviously this cannot be done unless it is done of course cooperatively by a number of newspapers. My point is, you cannot escape the fact the newspaper has become an industry, I mean remain an industry and what is more, it will become as technology develop and it is developing tremendously fast. It will become outside the scope of any person who has not got a requisite amount of capital even to start it or keep it going. Now I will indicate the possible lines of growth, which are very near. A newspaper may have a proper printing press, one should say in Delhi. First of all, now it is likely to take a photograph, no composing by linetype or this type or that type but just a photograph from which the whole page is produced swiftly and relatively cheaply. Then that photograph itself is sent by radio, wireless to Bombay and there within half an hour another page is produced of that very newspaper. You see, you can duplicate that with extreme speed, the whole page, you do not send the telegram of news. You send the whole page of the newspapers from Delhi to Calcutta or



Bombay or Allahabad or wherever it may be and there it is and all you have to do is to strike it off the machine. So all kinds of technological developments are taking place. And you cannot ignore them. It is difficult for the Government to say there will be no technological improvement, that cannot be done. Then what is to be done when this kind of thing takes place. How are we to prevent this kind of a control which big money have? It is very difficult question. Quite apart, we accept all these things but basic question remains of this technological development. If you ask me the only answer, ultimate answer to technological development is socialism. It is no good ignoring that fact of technological development. However these questions do not immediately arise.

## 8. Lessons of Atomic Warfare<sup>1</sup>

On the 9th August, the anniversary of the descent, on the city of Nagasaki, of the second atomic bomb, it is right that we should turn our minds to this occurrence and to the evil that flowed from it. That atomic bomb brought great disaster to vast numbers of people in Nagasaki. But out of evil may sometimes come good. If we profit by our experience, it may be that out of this thing of evil and horror, which was only a small example of what the future might hold for us, people might turn their minds to peace. I believe this is happening in all countries of the world and certainly in Japan which suffered from these atomic bombs.

We have had enough of war and hatred and violence. Let us turn our minds to the ways of peace and cooperation.

1. Message to the Mayor of Nagasaki on the anniversary of the dropping of the second atomic bomb, 8 August 1955. External Affairs (PIB). Also published in the *National Herald*, 9 August 1955.

## 9. To Saif F.B. Tyabji<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
13 August 1955

Dear Tyabji,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 5th August.

I entirely agree with you that we should aim as far as possible at a single civil code. But I fear the time is not ripe for it yet. In any event, any attempt to do so now simply means postponing the bills actually before Parliament. These have been pending for a very long time and we are anxious to pass them. A proposal to widen their scope simply means withdrawing these bills and thinking again over the whole question. I am afraid this will be very unfortunate and will be strongly opposed.

If I may suggest it to you, you should try to cultivate opinion, privately as well as publicly in favour of a civil code over a large field of law. At the right time we can then take a step in that direction.

I would be happy to see you of course, if you come to Delhi. But for some little time I am terribly busy.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Saif F.B. Tyabji (1904-57); Solicitor and Public Notary; President. Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay; elected to, Lok Sabha, 1957.

## 10. To Lord Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 August 1955

My dear Dickie,

Forgive me for not acknowledging your letter of the 19th July earlier. I did not quite know what to say to you about the Decoration, the Bharat Ratna, which has been conferred upon me by the President. I was rather taken aback when he suddenly decided upon this and announced it. At first, my reaction was that the person who advises the President to give this Order to others should not be recipient of it. But, of course, I had to accept it. Any other course would have been discourteous to the President.

1. JN Collection.



The fact is that my mind is not at all used to the idea of Honours and Decorations. Having thought on different lines for a long time past, these Decorations seem rather superfluous. I suppose they are necessary in this world of ours and I have no doubt that they are appreciated.

Today is our Independence Day, 15th August. My mind goes back to the 15th August of 1947 and the emotions that this day aroused then among our people. You were yourself a witness to them. All that is past history now. But the day still rouses our people. I have continued the practice of going to the Red Fort in the morning and hoisting our Flag there. The ceremony is fairly simple. At first I go to inspect a Guard of Honour in front of the Fort, then I come up to the ramparts where the ministers and diplomats are gathered and unfurl our Flag. Afterwards I speak for about twenty minutes. Then several hundred school children sing our National Anthem. As usual, vast crowds gathered down below. In fact, it was a sea of heads as far as one could see. Evidently they came not because of any attractive ceremony but just to associate themselves in this manner with the celebration of the day.

We have been fortunate in not having any rain on any of these days ever since 1947, although we are right in the midst of the rainy season. There were heavy clouds today, but no rain in the morning. The rain came down in the afternoon and interfered with the Party at Government House, which had to be held indoors. As several thousands had been invited, you can imagine the crush inside the House.

Ever since last year, we have started the convention of the President observing Independence Day in some place in South India. Last year he was in Bangalore for the purpose; this year at Kurnool, the Capital of the new Andhra State. We have also now fixed upon an official residence of the President in the South. This is in Hyderabad City, the old Residency. There is some feeling in the South that the North dominates over it or ignores it.

You will be interested to learn that the large open area at the end of Kingsway which was known as "Princes' Circle" and where the great gathering took place on the 15th August 1947, is being renamed by us. Instead of the "Princes' Circle", it is being called now "Pandrah August ka Maidan". That is to say "The 15th August Maidan"—a reminder of what took place there on the 15th August 1947.

We have a multitude of problems of course, but still we move along. At the present moment, we have to face again tremendous floods in eastern UP, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam. In most of these areas, there was a very great downpour of rain, about twenty-five inches coming down in three days, apart from what had preceded it. Thousands of mud villages have been washed away.

Then there is Goa of course. We have tried hard to restrain people's excitement about it and, to some extent, succeeded and kept this on a peaceful

level. But the shooting down by the Portuguese of wholly unarmed and peaceful persons, including women, creates great resentment.

The real problem before us in the near future is going to be the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. This will probably come out in about six weeks' time. I have yet no idea of what it is going to be. If it suggests major changes in boundaries of States or in the creation of new States, we shall have to face considerable difficulties.

Yours,  
Jawahar

## 11. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
22 August 1955

Darling Nan,

... You will be interested to know that Harindranath Chattopadhyaya<sup>2</sup> is going to London soon and is likely to descend upon you. I have just received a letter from him to say that he has been invited to East Berlin by the State Opera there which begins on the 4th September. He intends going to London before or after, probably after the Berlin visit. He has asked me to "instruct the High Commissioner in London to render me whatever help they can by way of organising recitals of poems or talks on art". Another gentle request is that I should introduce him to some publishers in London who might undertake publication of his prose and verse manuscripts. Further, that he wants to be helped by the High Commission with accommodation for at least a fortnight, in other words he does not wish to pay for it.

Obviously, we cannot do all this for him. He is a genius in his own way but quite erratic and, sometimes, does rather foolish things. I should like to help him within reason. I am certainly not going to give him letters to any publishers. But, if you think it worthwhile, you can ask Gundevia<sup>3</sup> informally to put him in touch with some publishers.

He gives good recitals of poems and indeed a very good one-man show. Perhaps, you could have such a recital in India House and invite some people to hear it.

1. JN Collection, Extracts.

2. Poet, dramatist, musician and actor.

3. Y.D. Gundevia, the Indian Deputy High Commissioner in UK.



About his stay in London, I do not know what to suggest. I do not think it will be right for him to stay with you. Nor do I know what other free arrangements can be made for him. If any help can be given to him, this might be done.

Did you know that we have had three tiger cubs here? They came to me some five or six months ago, and were just three weeks old then. When I went to the Soviet Union, I sent them to the Lucknow Zoo. On our return, they came back too, very much grown up and strong and heavy. They are rather lovely and very playful, but apt to be rough with themselves. One of these, Bheem by name, got some trouble with his paws. The vet, after trying various powders etc., decided, without my knowledge, to cauterize it. Obviously, this could not be done with a wide awake tiger cub. So Bheem had to be made unconscious. Some dope was given. This was not enough, so repeated doses of it were given. He became unconscious and his foot was treated but he refused to come out of his unconscious state. He had been so powerfully drugged that days passed and he simply would not wake up. He hovered between life and death, and almost the entire Prime Minister's household plus vets and other experts attended upon him. On the fourth day, at last he showed some signs of waking and imbibed some milk. He fell asleep again. It is the seventh day today and he is definitely better, but still very weak on his legs.

I am going to Assam next Saturday for four days to visit the flood-affected areas.

Yours loving brother,  
Jawahar

Bharat Mata	Mother India
Bharat Mata ki jai	victory to Mother India
chudidar pyjama	narrow-legged cotton trousers with gatherings running down the length of the lower leg
devanagari/nagari	script for Hindi, Sanskrit and some other Indian languages
hartal	strike
jagirdari	a system of assignment of a tract of land and its revenue
Jai Hind	victory to India
jathas	squad, a group of volunteers
ji	an affix denoting respect
jibba	a type of gown worn by Muslims
katras	an enclosed inhabited piece of land, small rectangular bazaar
kayasth	a member of the Hindu caste
lokasamgraha	experience gained through intercourse with the world
manapatra	an address of welcome
maund	a measure of weight around one hundred pounds
mohalla	locality
morcha	picket



Panch Shila	five basic principles of international conduct
prayashchit	atonement, penance performed by orthodox Hindus
Rashtrabhasha	national language
samiti	committee
satyagrahi	practitioner of soul force or truth force
senapati	commander-in-chief
Sravana	fifth month of the lunar calendar
sthitaprajna	a person of pure wisdom and stable intellect
suba	province
sunya	zero
taluka	a territorial sub-division

(Biographical footnotes in this volume and in volumes in the first series are italicised and those in the second series are given in block letters.)

- Abakumov, Viktor, 207 fn  
 Abdullah, Farooq, (VOL. 26, P. 293), 452- 453  
 \_\_\_\_\_, S.M., (*Vol. 7, p. 308*), 188 & fn, 196 fn, 452  
 \_\_\_\_\_, Tariq, (VOL. 25, P. 315), 188 & fn  
 Academy of Sciences (USSR), 229  
 Adenauer, Konrad, (VOL. 28, P. 590), 201 & fn, 238 fn-239, 246-247 & fn, 300, 304 & fn-305  
*Administration and Constitutional Growth of NEFA* (P.N. Luthra), 134 fn  
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The present volume, which draws upon the period 1 June to 31 August 1955... is richer in foreign policy than in internal developments. Goa is the dominant single problem at home... where the popular movement is controlled not by the Congress but by radical groups in the Socialist Party and the Jana Sangh... He confronts the leftist parties and questions their nationalist bona fides, makes an interesting distinction between socialism to which the Congress Party is committed and the undisciplined behaviour of the students in Patna under revolutionary leftist slogans and is upset by the repeated insults made to the National Flag. He also notices the enduring menace of communalism and the new danger of casteism within the Hindu society and the indigenous communities, under-represented in the administration in the North East.

The most important single event in foreign policy during this period was his visit to the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries and to Austria and Italy... Nehru and his principal negotiator, Krishna Menon, play an important part in conveying to Washington, London, Paris and Moscow, and more important, to Beijing, the views on various controversial issues. The Moscow conversations are most important not so much on bilateral matters as in global diplomacy... As the centre of this diplomatic episode is the mutual trust between Chou En-lai and Nehru on the one hand and Nehru and Eisenhower on the other with Eden and Macmillan willing to play a mediatory role.

There were three important areas of foreign policy in which India was actively interested—the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the problems arising out of the newly constituted Indo-China Commissions after the 1954 Geneva Conference and the tense, near dangerous situation in the relations between China and the United States on Taiwan and the offshore islands.



